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A preservative against
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PRESERVATIVE AGAINST POPERY,

IN SEVERAL

Select Discourses

UPON THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS OF CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN

PROTESTANTS AND PAPISTS:

BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED

By the most eminent Divines of the Church of England,

CHIEFLY IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

COLLECTED BY

THE RIGHT REV. EDMUND GIBSON, D.D.

SUCCESSIVELY LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN AND LONDON,

[B. 1669, D. 1748.]

CAREFULLY REVISED AND EDITED

FOR THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES
OF THE REFORMATION,

BY

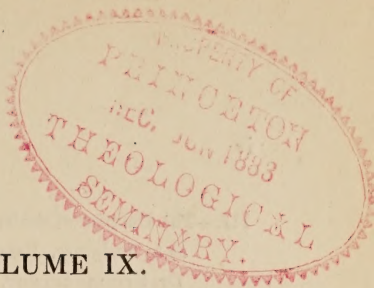
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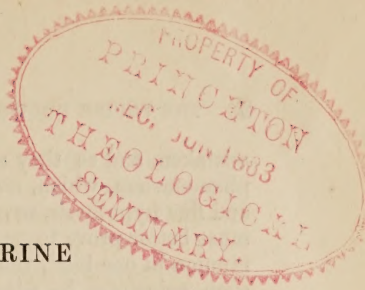
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THE
POPISH DOCTRINE
CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS
CONFUTED.

BOOK III.
OF COMMUNION IN ONE KIND.

(CONTINUED.)

AND now having so fully shewn the universal consent, and constant and perpetual practice of the Church for Communion in both kinds, and having answered all the instances by which de Meaux vainly endeavours to overthrow that ; I have, I hope, in some measure performed what was the subject of de Meaux's prayer at the beginning of his treatise, "That not only antiquity may be illustrated, but that truth also may become manifest and triumphant ;"* and I have hereby wholly taken away the main strength, and the very foundation of his book, for that lies in those several customs and pretended matters of fact which he brings to justify the Church's practice for single communion ; and if these be all false and mistaken, as upon examination they appear to be, then his principles upon which he founds this wrong practice, if they are not false and erroneous, yet they are useless and insignificant, for they do not prove, but only suppose the Church's practice ; and if the practice be not true, as it is plain it is not, then what signify those principles which are wholly grounded upon a wrong supposal, and are only designed to make out that which never was ? Those principles are like framing an hypothesis to give an account of the reason of some strange and extraordinary thing, which thing upon inquiry, proves false and

* Page 9.

mistaken, and so they are but like the virtuoso's solution of a phænomenon, which, notwithstanding all his philosophic fancy and fine hypothesis, never was in nature. Monsieur de Meaux must better prove to us the practice of the Church for communion in one kind, than he has yet done, before he establishes such principles, by which such a practice may be made out; for whatever the principles be, as long as the practice is false, the principles will not make it true. And since I have so largely proved that communion in both kinds was the practice of the Primitive and the whole catholic Church for above twelve hundred years, and have disproved all the instances of de Meaux to the contrary, so that no manner of question can be made of the truth of this matter of fact, unless where, as de Meaux says, "passion makes prevaricated persons undertake and believe any thing:"* I have sufficiently answered that part of de Meaux's book, wherein the strength of the whole lies, and that which is the ground and foundation of all the rest being destroyed, the other falls of itself; I might therefore spare myself the trouble of examining the principles which de Meaux lays down, as the reasons of the Church's practice; for if the practice of the Church be against him, the reasons of that practice will be so too, and I may turn those upon him as I have done the other. His third principle, which is the most considerable, and "which alone," he says, "carries along with it the decision of this question,"† namely, "that the law ought to be explained by constant and perpetual practice," this is wholly for us, who are assured that we have the constant and perpetual practice of the Church for so many ages for the communion in both kinds: and therefore, though the law of Christ, which is so clear in itself that it needs nothing to explain it, be the main thing upon which the decision of this matter depends, yet the tradition and practice of the Church is a farther confirmation of the law to us, and we shall be willing to join with de Meaux in whatever he can say for tradition, provided it be so certain, and general and authentic, as we have proved it to be for communion in both kinds, and provided that it do not destroy a plain law of Christ, nor make void the commandment of God, which we can never believe that an universal tradition of the catholic Church ever will do. What a vain and empty flourish some are used to make with the name of tradition and the Church, I have shewn in this question of the communion in one kind, in the managing of which, I have, as de Meaux

* P. 164.

† P. 194.

speaks, "attacked our enemies in their own fortress,"* and taken this Goliath weapon out of their hands; and though the disarming de Meaux of that, in which his whole strength lies, is entirely to overcome him; yet since some of the reasons he lays down to justify his pretended tradition, may without that, considered merely by themselves, carry a seeming plausibleness, if not real strength in them, to defend the communion in one kind from those apparent difficulties, under which, as he owns, it labours, and which he would willingly take off from it: I shall in the last place consider, all those principles and arguments from reason, which are laid down by him to this purpose.

His first principle is this: "that in the administration of the sacraments we are obliged to do, not all that Jesus Christ hath done, but only that which is essential to them." This we allow, and this principle, as he says, is without contest: no Church, nor no Christians, did ever think themselves obliged to all those circumstances with which Christ celebrated the blessed eucharist at its first institution; and as to baptism, Christ himself did not perform, but only command that sacrament. I cannot think that Monsieur Jurieu should propose this for a rule, as de Meaux charges him,† "to do universally all that Jesus Christ did, in such sort, that we should regard all circumstances he observed, as being of absolute necessity." What, to do it only at night, and after supper, and in an upper room, and the like? This could never enter into any man's head of common understanding, much less into so learned a man's as Monsieur Jurieu. They who are so zealous for unleavened bread, because Christ probably used it (for there are disputes about it) at his paschal supper, though if he did, it was only by accident, yet do not think fit to inquire what was the particular sort of wine which he blessed and gave his disciples, nor think themselves obliged to celebrate only in that, which yet they might do with as much reason; and though the putting water into the wine, which was very ancient, and used very likely by the Jews and others in those hot countries, is not remarked in the first institution; yet I know none that make any great scruple at it: as to the posture of receiving, which has been the most controverted, yet the stiffest contenders in that, have not thought it necessary to keep exactly to the same in which Christ gave, and the Apostles received it at first, which was discumbency; if these circumstances indeed had been commanded, as a great many

* P. 254.

† P. 349.

of the like nature were very precisely to the Jews in their eating the passover, then they ought to have been observed in obedience to the Divine law: but the command of Christ, *Do this*, does not in the least extend to these, but only to the sacramental action of blessing bread and eating it, blessing wine and drinking it, in remembrance of Christ: for that was the thing which Christ did, and which he commanded them to do; and the very same thing may be done with quite other circumstances than those with which he did it, with other words, for we know not what were the words with which Christ blessed the bread or the wine; with other company, more or less than twelve men; in another posture than that of lying, and in another place and time, and the like: he that does not plainly see those to be circumstances, and cannot easily distinguish them from the thing itself which Christ did and commanded to be done, must not know what it is to eat and to drink, unless it be with his own family, in such a room of his own house, and at such an hour of the day; it is certainly as easy to know what Christ instituted, and what he commanded, as to know this, and consequently what belongs to the essence of the sacrament, without which it would not be such a sacrament as Christ celebrated and appointed, as to know what it is to eat and to drink; and yet Monsieur de Meaux* is pleased to make this the great difficulty, “to know what belongs to the essence of the sacrament, and what does not, and to distinguish what is essential in it from what is not.” And by this means he endeavours to darken what is as clear as the light, and so to avoid the plainest institution and the clearest command: “The institution,” says he, “does not suffice, since the question always returns to know what appertains to the essence of the institution, Jesus Christ not having distinguished them. Jesus Christ instituted this sacrament in the evening, at the beginning of the night in which he was to be delivered, it was at this time he would leave us his body given for us:” does the time or the hour then belong to the institution? Does this appertain to the essence of it? And is it not as plainly and evidently a circumstance, as night or noon is a circumstance to eating and drinking? Does the command of Christ, *Do this*, belong to that or to the other circumstances of doing it, when the same thing, the same sacramental action, may be done without them? Is not this a plain rule, to make

* P. 239, 257, 349.

a distinction between the act itself, and the circumstances of performing it? Because there were a great many things done by Jesus Christ in this mystery, which we do not believe ourselves obliged to do: such as being in an upper room, lying upon a bed, and the like, which are not properly things done by Christ, so much as circumstances of doing it; for the thing done, was taking bread and wine, and blessing and distributing them: does therefore Christ's command, *Do this*, belong no more to eating and drinking, than it does to those other things, or rather circumstances, with which he performed those? Is drinking as much a circumstance as doing it after supper? If it be, eating may be so too. Monsieur de Meaux is ashamed to say this, but yet it is what he aims at; for else the cup will necessarily appear to belong to the sacrament as an essential, and consequently an indispensable part of it; and this may be plainly known to be so from the words of Christ and from Scripture, without the help of tradition; though that also, as I have shewn, does fully agree with those, but they are so plain as not to need it in this case; eating and drinking are so plainly the essential part of the sacrament, and so clearly distinguished from the other circumstances in Scripture, that St. Paul always speaks of those without any regard to the other: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?"* "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."† "Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily:—Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup; for he that eateth and drinketh—" So that he must be wilfully blind, who cannot see from Scripture what is essential to this sacrament, from what is not. But Monsieur de Meaux thinks to find more advantage in the other sacrament of baptism, and therefore he chiefly insists upon that under this head, and his design is to make out that immersion or plunging under water, is meant and signified by the word *baptize*, "in which," he tells us, "the whole world agree,‡ and that this is the only manner of baptizing we read of in the Scriptures, and that he can shew by the acts of Councils, and by ancient Rituals, that for thirteen hundred years the whole

* 1 Cor. x. 16.

† 1 Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28, 29.

‡ P. 168.

Church baptized after this manner, as much as it was possible.”* If it be so, then it seems there is not only Scripture but tradition for it, which is the great principle he takes so much pains to establish; and what then shall we have to say to the Anabaptists, to whom de Meaux seems to have given up that cause, that he may defend the other of communion in one kind; for his aim in all this is to make immersion as essential to baptism, as eating and drinking to the Lord’s supper: and if Scripture and tradition be both so fully for it, I know not what can be against it; but de Meaux† “knows some gentlemen who answer things as best pleases them; the present difficulty transports them, and being pressed by the objection, they say at that moment what seems most to disentangle them from it, without much reflecting whether it agree, I do not say with truth, but with their own thoughts.” The institution of the eucharist in bread and wine, and the command to *Do this*, which belonged both to eating and drinking, lay very heavy upon him; and to ease himself of those, which he could not do, if it were always necessary to observe what Christ instituted and commanded, he was willing to make baptism by dipping to be as much commanded and instituted as this, though it be not now observed as necessary, either by those of the Church of Rome, or the Reformed. And besides his arguments to prove that from Scripture, he makes an universal tradition of the Church, which he pretends all along in his book, is against communion in both kinds, and which is the great thing he goes upon, yet to be for this sort of baptism no less than 1300 years: so that neither the law in Scripture, nor tradition, as it explains that law, is always, it seems, to be observed, which is the thing ought openly to be said for communion in one kind: “the cause itself demands this, and we must not expect that an error can be defended after a consequent manner.”‡ But is Scripture and tradition both for baptism by immersion? Surely not; the word *baptize*, in which the command is given, signifies only to wash in general, and not to plunge all over, as I have already shewn in this treatise,§ and as all writers against the Anabaptists do sufficiently make out, to whom I shall refer the reader for further satisfaction in that controversy, which it is not my business to consider at present; and so much is de Meaux out about tradition being so wholly and universally for baptism by immersion, that Tertullian plainly speaks of it by

* P. 171.

† P. 299.

‡ Ib.

§ P. 21.

*intinction** and by *sprinkling*;† reprehending those who presumed upon pardon to be obtained by baptism without repentance; and St. Cyprian, in his epistle to Magnus, determines, that the form of baptism by aspersion, is as good and valid as by immersion, and confirms this by several examples and instances of the Jewish purifications,‡ which were only by sprinkling. It is not the manner of washing, nor the quantity, or the sort of water, but only washing with water, which is essential to baptism and unalterable; and so it is not the sort of bread, or wine, or the manner of receiving them, that is essential to the eucharist, but the receiving both of them is, because they are both commanded and instituted, and both of them are the matter of that sacrament, as much as water is of baptism; in a word, without those we cannot do what Christ did and commanded to be done, though we may without the other circumstances with which he did them, which I think is a very plain way to distinguish the one from the other, though de Meaux is so unwilling to see it.

The second principle of de Meaux is, “that to distinguish what appertains, or does not appertain to the substance of a sacrament; we must regard the essential effect of that sacrament.” But must we regard nothing else? Must we not regard the outward part as well as the inward? And does not that appertain to the substance of a sacrament as well as the other? I confess the word *substance*, which de Meaux uses, is equivocal and ambiguous, for it may signify either the outward part of it as it is a sacred sign or symbol, and so the matter and form does appertain to the substance or essence of it, or it may signify the inward grace and virtue, which is also of the substance of the sacrament as it is the thing signified, and it is not only one, but both of these that do appertain to the substance of the sacrament, or to speak more clearly and plainly, that make it a sacrament. If de Meaux understands nothing else by the substance of the sacrament

* Omne præterea cunctationis et tergiversationis erga poenitentiam vitium præsumptio intinctionis importat. Tertul. de Pœnit. cap. 6. [p. 124. Par. 1695.]

† Quis enim tibi tam infidæ poenitentiae viro asperginem unam cujuslibet aquæ commodabit? Ib.

‡ Aspergam super vos aquam mundam—Ezech. xxxvi. 25. non erit mundus, quoniam aqua aspersionis non est super eum sparsa. Num. xix. 19. Aqua aspersionis purificatio est. Num. xix. 9. unde apparet aspersionem quoque aquæ, instar salutaris lavacri obtinere. Cypr. Ep. 96. [Ep. 69.] Edit. Oxon. [p. 186. 1682.]

but the essential effect of it, then his words are confused and run together, and he had as good have put it thus: that "to distinguish what appertains or does not appertain to the essential effect of the sacrament, we must regard the essential effect of the sacrament:" which though it had not been sense, yet he had better told us his meaning by it; but surely there is something else that does plainly belong to the substance of the sacrament, besides the essential effect. It is strange that de Meaux, "the treasury of wisdom, the fountain of eloquence, the oracle of his age," as he is styled by the translator, but who, like the oracles of old, too often doubles and equivocates, that so great a man should not either understand or consider the plain nature of a sacrament, so as to account the external and visible part to belong to the essence or substance of it, as well as the internal or the essential effect. Does not every Catechism tell us, that the sacrament is made up of these two parts, of the *res terrena* and *cœlestis*, as Irenæus* calls it; the *esca corporalis* and *spiritualis*, as St. Ambrose;† the *sacramentum* or outward sign, and *res sacramenti*, as St. Austin;‡ and must we not have regard to both these, without which we destroy the very nature of a sacrament, as well as to one? The very essence or substance, if de Meaux pleases, of the sacrament of baptism, lies in the outward washing the body with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which is the outward form of it, without which it was declared null, as well as in the cleansing the soul, and we must regard the one as well as the other, though St. Peter tells us, "it is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, whereby baptism saveth us, but the answer of a good conscience towards God."§ Yet still we are to observe the outward ceremony, and may know by another way, namely, from the institution, that that does appertain to the substance of it; else with the Quakers and Socinians, we may leave off all sacraments, and all the positive and outward ceremonies of Christianity, and only regard the essential effect and invisible grace of them, which they also pretend to have without the visible sign. As washing with

* L. 4. [c. 18. p. 251. col. 2. Venet. 1734.]

† De Myst. [In illo sacramento Christus est; quia corpus est Christi: non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritualis est. Unde et Apostolus de typo ejus ait (1 Cor. x. 3.): "Quia patres nostri escam spiritualem manduca-verunt, et potum spiritualem biberunt." vol. 2. p. 341. Par. 1690.]

‡ De Consec. dist. 2. [vol. 1. p. 1936, 1937. Lugd. 1671.]

§ 1 Pet. i. ii. 21.

water does appertain to the substance of baptism, so does eating bread and drinking wine appertain to the substance of the eucharist ; and we must regard those which are the true matter of this sacrament as well as the essential effect of it ; or else how were the Aquarii that used water, and others that used milk, reproved so severely by St. Cyprian and Pope Julius, if the keeping to the outward elements which Christ has instituted and appointed, be not as well to be regarded as the inward and essential effect ? And if these do not appertain to the substance of the sacrament, and could not be easily known and distinguished from the other circumstances of the sacrament, by other means than by regard to the essential effect, which they might hope to partake of without them. De Meaux is so wholly taken up with the essential effect, and entire fruit, and the inseparable grace of the sacrament, with which words he hopes to blind and amuse his reader, and therefore he drops them almost in half the pages of his book, that he takes not due care, nor is much concerned about the outward and visible part of the sacrament, which he knows is so grossly violated, and shamefully mangled and mutilated in his Church ; and yet this is so considerable, that it is not a true sacrament without it ; and Gelasius plainly calls the dividing of the outward part of the sacrament, the dividing of the mystery ; and to be plain with him, and to give the killing blow to his cause, and to all the artificial slights with which he fences and defends it, and as he speaks, “for once to stop the mouth of these cavillers,” I shall lay down this principle, that the essential effect or inward substance of the sacrament is not ordinarily to be received or partaken, without receiving and partaking the external part, or the outward substance of it, which is instituted and appointed by Christ : and by this plain principle, which I have made use of before, and shall further strengthen and confirm, all that he says about receiving the grace, and virtue, and essential effect of the sacrament by one kind, will be quite taken off and destroyed. But because this is the greatest plea, and the fundamental reasoning which he every where uses in his book, I shall therefore fully consider it under these two questions :

1. Whether the same grace, virtue and benefit, do not belong to one species, or be not given by one species which is by both ?

2. Whether one species, containing both Christ's body and blood, by the doctrine of transubstantiation, and consequently the person of Christ whole and entire by the doctrine of con-

comitancy, do not contain and give whole Christ, and so the whole substance and thing signified of the sacrament.

1. Whether the same grace, virtue, and benefit, be not give by one species as by both? This de Meaux every where asserts, and it is the foundation he all along goes upon; but is it not strange presumption, when God has been pleased to appoint such a religious rite and sacramental action to be performed in such a manner, with a promise of such graces and benefits to those who perform it aright, to think he will grant the same benefits to those who perform it otherwise than he has appointed, and to venture to make a change and alteration from what he positively ordered, and yet think to partake of the same benefits another way, without any such outward means, and without any sacraments at all? For they are wholly in his own free disposal, and he is not tied to any outward means, nor to such particular means as the sacraments are; but since he has thought fit to make them the ordinary means of conveying those benefits to us, we cannot ordinarily hope for the one without the other; thus we cannot expect the virtue and benefit of baptism without the outward ceremony of washing, and without observing that in such a way as Christ has appointed, *i. e.* washing with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; neither can we receive the inward grace and virtue of the eucharist, without taking that sacrament as Christ hath appointed and commanded it; for all sacraments would lose their worth and value, their esteem and reverence, and would not be necessary to be observed according to the Divine institution, if without the observance of that we had any just grounds to hope for the virtue and benefits of them: there is therefore all the reason in the world to fear, that God, to preserve the integrity of his own institution, and the force and authority of his own laws, will deny the inward grace and virtue of the sacrament to those who wilfully violate and transgress the outward observance of it in such a way as he has appointed: has not Christ annexed the inward grace and virtue of the sacrament to the outward sign? If he have, and we do not receive the outward sign as he has appointed, how can we then hope to receive the inward grace? What is it that makes such an outward sign or ceremony as a sacrament, be a means of conveying such spiritual grace and virtue, and exhibiting such inward benefits to our minds? It is not any physical power, or natural virtue which they have in themselves; it is not the washing with a little water that can cleanse the soul, or the eating a little bread and drinking a

little wine, can nourish and strengthen it, but it is the Divine power of Christ, who by his institution has given such a spiritual and inward virtue to such outward signs and visible actions, and made these the means and instruments of conveying and exhibiting such grace and virtue, and real benefits to us ; all the power and efficacy they have to do this, is owing purely to the Divine institution, and wholly depends upon that ; if therefore we do not observe the institution, how can we expect the benefit that comes wholly from that ? And if Christ by the institution has annexed the grace, and virtue, and benefit of the sacrament to both kinds, which he has plainly done by instituting of both ; how can we then hope to receive it by one, contrary to the institution ? And how can we be assured that we lose nothing, and are deprived of nothing, by taking one only, and that this is as good and sufficient as taking of both ? There is nothing appears from the will and pleasure of him that instituted both, upon which the whole virtue of them does entirely depend, from whence we can gather any such thing ; it rather appears from thence that both are necessary, because both are instituted. De Meaux therefore does not fetch it from thence, but from the nature of the thing itself, from the inseparableness of that grace which is given in the sacrament, and from the impossibility in the thing to have it otherwise: “Christ,” says he,* “cannot separate the virtue of the sacrament, nor effect that any other grace should accompany his bloodshed, than that same in the ground and substance which accompanies his body immolated.”† But Christ can annex the virtue of the sacrament to the whole sacrament, and not to any part of it, and he can effect that the grace of his body and blood should accompany or belong to both the eating his body and drinking his blood, and not to the doing one of these without the other, contrary to his command and institution ; although the grace be inseparable, so that “the grace annexed to the body be no other than that which is annexed to the blood ;”‡ yet this grace may not be given till both the body and blood are received, as Bellarmine expressly says, “it may not,” in the case of the priests taking both kinds,§ “till the whole sumption of both species is per-

* P. 182.

† P. 182.

‡ P. 3.

§ Posset etiam dici Eucharistiam sub specie panis non conferre gratiam, nisi tota sumptione Eucharistiæ absoluta. Et quia cum sumitur utraque species, non censetur absoluta sumptio, nisi cum sumpta est utraque species, ideo Eucharistiam sub specie panis conferre quidem gratiam, sed non ante sumptionem alterius speciei. Bellarm. de Sacram. Euch. l. 4. c. 23. [vol. 3. p. 390. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

formed and finished ;” and if it may not be so in the case of the priest, why not also in all other communicants, unless Christ have made and declared it otherwise, which he has not? What will it then signify, if, as de Meaux says, “it be impossible to separate in the application the effect of Christ’s blood from that of his body :”* if the effect of these be not applied till they are both received, and there be no application of the effect, as we cannot be assured there is, without the receiving of both? But did Christ then, says he, “suspend the effect which his body was to produce, until such time as the Apostles had received the blood,” in the first institution of this sacrament, and in the interval between their taking the bread and the cup? I answer, they did not receive the grace of the sacrament till they had received the whole sacrament, because the grace and effect was annexed to the whole, and not to any part of it; and therefore the effect may not only be suspended till the whole is taken, but even utterly lost without receiving the whole. It is a little too nice and curious to inquire what are the precise moments in which we receive this grace of the sacrament, or any other ordinance, as well as what is the particular manner in which we do receive it, as whether all at once, or by part, or whether the effect be given in such a minute, or suspended till the next? In return to de Meaux’s question, I might as well ask him, whether the effect of the body is given when it is just put into the mouth? Or when the species is chewed there? Or when it is swallowed down and comes into the stomach? Or whether it be suspended till all this is done? So in baptism, which he will needs have to be commanded by Christ, and anciently practised, by immersion: was the grace of it given when part of the body was dipt, or the whole immersed? And then, whether when the body was under water, or when it was raised out of it? And when this was performed by trine immersion, as it is commanded in the Apostolic Canons,† was the effect of it suspended till the last immersion was over? So in the Jews’ eating of their sacrifices, whereby they were made partakers of the altar, and had the virtue of those applied to them, as we, by feeding on the Christian sacrifice do partake of the virtue of that, was this done by the first bit they eat of them? Or was half the virtue applied when they had eat half? Or was the whole suspended till the whole was eaten? By these questions, I hope de Meaux may see the vain subtlety and folly of his

* P. 182. † Canon. 50. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 1. p. 52. Lat. Par. 1671.]

own, which he thinks is so much to the purpose, and does the business of proving the effect of the sacrament to be given by one species, either before or without the other ; when the effect depends, besides other things, upon the whole action, and the whole performance, and the receiving of both of them. When there is a conveyance of a thing by some visible ceremony, which consists of several parts and several actions ; as suppose the conveying an estate by deed, there is to be the setting of a hand, and the putting of a seal, and the delivery of it, and something given and received, as livery and seisin, and the like ; all those things which the law requires to be done as a form of passing and transferring of a right from one, and receiving it by another ; these are all to be done before the thing is truly, and legally, and rightly conveyed : the sacraments, he knows, are outward tokens and visible pledges, and solemn rites and ceremonies of Christ's conveying, and our receiving his body and blood, and all the effects and benefits of them, and till all that the law of Christ appoints to be done in them according to his command and institution, be truly and fully performed ; we do not ordinarily receive, nor can we pretend a right to those things which they are designed to convey to us ; which I think is a plain illustration of the thing, and takes off all the vain and nice subtleties of de Meaux about this matter ; but yet I shall offer something further concerning it.

First, The grace of the sacrament which God has annexed to both, and not to one species, though it be not to be separated, so that one species should have a peculiar and distinct virtue proper to that, which does not belong to both of them (as there were not two distinct virtues in the sacrifice and the pouring out of the blood of the sacrifice, but one expiatory virtue by the sacrifice, whose blood was poured out), yet this grace is given in different measures and degrees, so that however confidently de Meaux determines,* that the "whole grace" and "the entire fruit" of the sacrament is received by one species as well as both, and that one "has always the same efficacy of "virtue" that both, so that "we lose nothing by taking one species only," but that "communion under one is as good and sufficient as under both:" yet this is contrary to the opinion of the learned men even of his own Church. Vasquez expressly declares the contrary, "Their opinion," says he, "seemed always more probable to me, who say, that there is greater fruit of grace received

* P. 179, 184. P. 7, 5, 161.

from both kinds than from one only, and therefore that they who take the cup do attain a new increase of grace :”* and he cites several other writers of the Roman communion as agreeing with him in this, and even one of their own Popes, Clement VI., who, granting the communion of both kinds to one of our English kings, does it with this particular reason set down in his bull, that “it might be for the augmentation of grace.”† Alexander Alensis said the same before Vasquez, namely, “that the sumption under both kinds, which was that which our Lord delivered, was more complete and more efficacious ;”‡ and although he defends and asserts, that “the sumption under one is sufficient,” yet that under both he acknowledges, “is of greater merit.”§ Suarez tells us, “this was the opinion of many Catholics, that there was more grace given by both species than by one alone ; and grave men,” says he, “relate that this was held by most of the Fathers, who were present in the Council of Trent, and therefore that Council speaks very cautiously, and only says, that the faithful by communicating only in one kind, are deprived of no grace necessary to salvation.”|| So that it seems they may by their own tacit confession, be deprived of some grace that is very useful and beneficial to a Christian, or of some degree of that sacramental grace which is given by both species and not by one : if it were no more than this, which themselves own, yet it is pity sure, that Christians should be deprived of that : but they can never assure Christians that they are not deprived of all, even of that which is necessary to salvation, so far as the grace of the sacrament is so, because this necessary grace is annexed not to one kind but to both, and the taking the species of wine is as necessary to receive that by Christ’s institution,

* Probabilior sententia mihi semper visa est eorum, qui dicunt majorem frugem gratiæ ex utraque specie hujus Sacramenti, quam ex altera tantum percipi, ac proinde eos qui calicem sumunt, novum augmentum gratiæ consequi. Vasquez in Tert. Disp. 215. c. 2.

† Ut ad gratiæ augmentum sub utraque specie communicaret. Ib.

‡ Sumptio sub utraque specie, quem modum sumendi tradidit Dominus, est majoris efficaciz et complementi. Alexand. Alens. in 4 sent. quæst. 53.

§ Licet illa sumptio, quæ est in accipiendo sub una specie, sufficiat, illa tamen quæ est sub duabus est majoris meriti. Ib.

|| Fuit multorum Catholicorum opinio, plus gratiæ dari per duas species quam per unam tantum ; Quam viri graves referunt tenuisse plures ex Patribus qui Concilio Tridentino affuerunt, et ideo idem Concilium caute dixisse, fideles eo quod communicent sub una tantum specie, nullâ gratiâ ad salutem necessariâ defraudari. Suarez, tom. 3. in Tert. Disp. 63. [vol. 18. p. 657. col. 1. Venet. 1747.]

as the species of bread, for no reason can be imagined why the one should give only the necessary grace, and the other only the additional. Men must make too bold with the grace of God, and the grace of the sacrament, who think to give it as they please, and to part and divide it as they think fit, by their presumptuous and ungrounded fancies, and do not wholly depend upon his will and pleasure for the receiving of it, and that way and manner which he himself has appointed. Others there are, who though they defend the communion in one kind, yet speak very doubtingly about that question, whether more spiritual fruit, or more grace, be not received by both than by one. Salmeron says, "it is a difficult question, because we have nothing from the ancients whereby we can decide it :"* no truly, the question and the reason of it, which is their practice, is too late and novel to have any thing produced for it out of antiquity : "so that those doctors who speak of this matter, have had various opinions about it."† Some saw there was no reason for it, and that it was perfectly precarious and ungrounded ; but others thought it necessary to defend their communion in one kind. Bellarmine himself owns, that "this is not so certain, for divers have different sentiments concerning it ; neither does the Council openly define it."‡ But de Meaux has done it very positively and definitively, contrary to many learned men in his own Church, and without any warrant from the Council of Trent, or any other.

Secondly, To make the whole grace, and virtue, and entire fruit of the sacrament to be given by one species, is to render the other wholly useless and superfluous as to the conveying any real virtue or benefit to him that receives it. When the priest has taken the species of bread, and has by that fully received the whole grace and entire fruit of the sacrament, what can he further receive by the cup, and what benefit can he have by it ? De Meaux will by no means "have the effect of the body suspended till the blood is received ;"§ though Bellarmine is willing it should :|| but if it be so to the priests, why may it not likewise to the people ? And if the priests receive any

* Difficilis sane quæstio, propterea quod ex antiquis quicquam vix habemus unde possimus eam decidere. Salmer. de Euch.

† Ut propterea Doctores, qui de hac re loquuti sunt, in varias iverint sententias. Ib.

‡ Hæc propositio non est adeo certa—de hac enim varie sentiunt Theologi, neque Concilium eam aperte definire videtur. Bellar. de Euch. [l. 4. c. 23. ut supra, p. 389. col. 1.]

§ P. 3.

|| De Euch. l. 4. c. 23. [Ibid. p. 390. col. 2.]

benefit by the cup, which they would not have without it, why may not the people also? For they have not yet declared, that I know of, that the priest is to receive more grace by the sacrament than the people: what a mere empty cup must the priest then receive, void of all grace and virtue, after he has taken the species of bread, which has before given him the whole and entire fruit and grace of the sacrament, to which the cup can add nothing at all? It must be then as utterly fruitless to him, as the wine of ablution is to the laity; and if it be so inconsiderable, they need not, methinks, be so afraid of the laymen's spilling it, or dipping their beards and whiskers in it. But it is still the very natural and true blood of Christ; if it be so, it is strange that it should have no true and essential virtue belonging to it; surely Christ's blood is never without that, nor ought any to have so mean and low an opinion of it.

Why did Christ give the cup to the Apostles, as part of the sacrament, if they had received the whole grace and virtue of the sacrament before? And if "so soon as they had received his body, at the same instant they received the whole grace that accompanied that," and his blood too? Christ, if he did not suspend the effect of the blood till it was taken, must have prevented it, and given it before it was. Christ no doubt might have given the whole grace and effect of the sacrament by one species, if he had pleased; but if he had done that he would not have given the other, nor should we have had two species instituted by him, if he had restrained the effect of those two, to one only. When Christ has appointed two, and gave two himself, for men to come and argue that one alone may give the whole good of both, because "the grace of both is the same, and inseparable from either, and because Christ did not suspend the effect of one till he gave the other, and that it is impossible he should separate the effect of his blood from that of his body;" this is to argue at all adventures against what is known, from what is secret and uncertain, against the plain will of Christ from his power, and against what he has done from what he might do, and is to set up a precarious and ungrounded hypothesis of our own, from the nature of the thing, when the thing itself is purely arbitrary and positive, and depends wholly upon Christ's will and pleasure. If Christ himself has appointed two species in the sacrament to convey the whole and entire virtue of the sacrament to worthy receivers, as he seems plainly to have done by instituting both, and giving both to his Apostles, and com-

manding both : how groundless and arrogant is it in any to say, that one is sufficient to give this, and that both are not necessary to this end ; without knowing any thing further of Christ's will about it ; and when they believe, as de Meaux does,* "that Jesus Christ has equally instituted both parts ;" yet notwithstanding, to make one unnecessary to the giving any real virtue and benefit, and to dare to affirm, as de Meaux does,† "that the receiving the blood is not necessary for the grace of the sacrament, or the ground of the mystery."

Let me then ask, what it is necessary for, and why it was equally instituted with the other ? De Meaux gives not a plain answer to that, but tells us, that "the eucharist has another quality," namely, "that of a sacrifice ;"‡ and for this reason, "both species are always consecrated, that so they may be offered to God, and a more lively representation may be made of Christ's death." But this is no answer to the question, for I do not ask why they are necessary as the eucharist is a sacrifice, which it is not in a proper sense, though it be not my business to shew that here, but as it is a sacrament ; why did Christ institute both species in the eucharist, as it is a sacrament ? And why did he give both species to his Apostles ? He did not give these to them as a sacrifice ; for as such, if it were so, it was to be only offered up to God ; but he gave both the species to his disciples ; and why did he do this, if the whole grace and virtue of the sacrament was given by one ? And why does the priest receive both, as well as offer both to God ? He does not receive them as a sacrifice, but as a sacrament : and why is the sumption of both necessary to him, as the eucharist is a sacrament ; which Bellarmine says it is, upon that very account ;§ if the taking of one be sufficient to convey the whole grace and virtue of both, and the other be not necessary for this end ? All these questions will return upon de Meaux though the eucharist were a sacrifice ; and as to that, I shall only ask him this question, whether Christ did as truly and properly offer up his body and blood as a sacrifice to God, when he instituted this sacrament, as he did upon the cross ? If he did, and therefore two species were necessary (though if his body and blood be both together in one, that might be sufficient), why needed he then to have afterwards

* P. 130.

† P. 4.

‡ P. 179.

§ Sacerdotibus utriusque speciei sumptio necessaria est ex parte Sacramenti. Bellarm. de Euch. c. 4. [l. 4. c. 23.] [p. 390. Prag. 1721.]

offered up himself upon the cross, when he had as truly offered up his body and blood before in the eucharist ?

If two species are necessary to make a full representation of Christ's death, and to preserve a perfect image of his sacrifice upon the cross, and by the mystical separation of his body and blood in the eucharist, to represent how they were really separated at his death ; why are they not then necessary, as de Meaux says they are not, to the ground of the mystery ? Is not the eucharist as it is a sacrament, designed to do all this, and to be such a remembrance of Christ, and a "shewing forth the Lord's death till he come," as the Scripture speaks ? And do they not in great measure destroy this, by giving the sacrament in one kind, without this mystical separation of Christ's body and blood ; and without preserving such a sacramental representation of it as Christ has appointed ? But, says de Meaux, "the ultimate exactness of representation is not requisite."* This I confess, for then the eating the flesh and drinking the blood of a man, as some heretics did of an infant, might more exactly represent than bread and wine ; but such a representation as Christ himself has appointed and commanded, this is requisite : and when he can prove that Christ has commanded immersion in baptism to represent the cleansing of the soul, as he has done taking bread broken and wine poured out in the eucharist, to represent his death, I will own that to be requisite in answer to his §. 11. there ought to be also an expression of the grace of the sacrament, which is not found in one species alone, for that is not a full expression of our perfect nourishment both by meat and drink ; and if the sacraments only exhibit what they represent, which is an axiom of the Schoolmen ; then as one kind represents our spiritual nourishment imperfectly, so it exhibits it imperfectly ; but however, if the whole grace and virtue of the sacrament be given by one species, the other must be wholly superfluous and unnecessary as to the inward effect, and so it must be but a mere significant sign, void of all grace, as de Meaux indeed makes it, though the name of a sign, as applied to the sacrament, is so hard to go down with them at other times, when he says of the species of wine, that "the whole fruit of the sacrament is given without it, and that this can add nothing thereunto, but only a more full expression of the same mystery."†

II. The second question I proposed to consider, was,

* P. 175.

† P. 185.

whether one species containing both Christ's body and blood by the doctrine of transubstantiation, and consequently the person of Christ whole and entire by the doctrine of concomitancy, do not contain and give whole Christ, and so the whole substance and thing signified of the sacrament? This de Meaux and all of them plead, that "each species contains Jesus Christ whole and entire;* so that we have in his flesh his blood, and in his blood his flesh, and in either of the two his person whole and entire, and in both the one and the other his blessed soul with his divinity, whole and entire, so that there is in either of the species the whole substance of the sacrament, and together with that substance the whole essential virtue of the eucharist,"† according to these principles of the Roman Church. I am not here to dispute against those, nor to shew the falseness and unreasonableness of that which is the ground of them, and which if it be false destroys all the rest, I mean transubstantiation, whereby they suppose the bread to be turned into the very natural body of Christ, with flesh, bones, nerves, and all other parts belonging to it, and the wine to be turned into the very natural substance of his blood; and since this flesh is not a dead flesh, it must have the blood joined with it, and even the very soul and divinity of Christ, which is always hypostatically united to it, and so does necessarily accompany it; and the body with Christ's soul and divinity, must thus likewise ever accompany his blood; to which prodigious doctrine of theirs, as it relates to the communion in one kind, I have these things to say:

1. It does so confound the two species, and make them to be one and the same thing, that it renders the distinct consecration of them to be not only impertinent but senseless; for to what purpose, or with what sense can the words of consecration be said over the bread, "this is my body?" and those again over the wine, "this is my blood:" if upon the saying of them by the priest the bread does immediately become both the body and blood of Christ, and the wine both his blood and his body too? This is to make the bread become the same thing with the wine, and the wine the same thing with the bread, and to make only the same thing twice over, and to do that again with one form of words which was done before with another; for upon repeating the words, "this is my body," Christ's body and blood are both of them immediately and truly present; and when they are so, what need is there of the other form, "this is my

* P. 306. sect. 9.

† P. 327.

blood," to make the same thing present again which was truly present before? It matters not at all in this case, whether they be present by virtue of the consecration, or by virtue of concomitancy; for if they be truly present once, what need they be present again, if they become the same thing after the first form of consecration which they do after the second? Why do they become the same thing twice? or what need is there of another form of words, to make the wine become that which the bread was before? They hold it indeed to be sacrilege not to consecrate both the species, but I cannot see, according to this principle of theirs, why the consecrating of one species should not be sufficient, when upon the consecration of that it immediately becomes both Christ's body and blood, and what reason is there for making the same body and blood over again by another consecration? They might if they pleased say over the bread alone, *hoc est corpus meum, et hoc est sanguis meus*, "this is my body, and this is my blood," for they believe it is so upon the saying those words, *hoc est corpus meum*, "this is my body." And if it be so as soon as the words are pronounced, they may as truly affirm it to be both as one: what does it signify to say, they are both present by concomitancy? Does not concomitancy always go along with the consecration? Is there any space between the consecration and the concomitancy? Is not the one as quick and sudden as the other? And can it be said over the species of bread, "this is my body," before it can be as truly said, "this is my blood?" Why therefore may not they be both said together? Nay, it may be as truly said by virtue of this doctrine, not only, this is my body and blood, but this is my soul and my divinity: for though they will not say it is made all those, yet it becomes all those, and truly is all those by this concomitancy upon the consecration, and it may be said to be all those as soon as it is consecrated, and at the same time that those words are spoke.

There being a distinct consecration of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, if Christ's body and blood be really present there by virtue of the words of consecration, yet they ought to be as distinctly present as they are distinctly consecrated, that is, the body present in the species of bread, and the blood in the species of wine, for else they are not present according to the consecration; so that this concomitancy by which they are present together, does quite spoil the consecration by which they are present asunder, and so confounds the two species as to make them become both the same

thing, after they are consecrated, and renders the consecration of one of them to be without either use or sense.

2. It makes the distinct supposition of both the species to be vain and unnecessary to any persons, to the priests, or to any others to whom the Pope has sometimes granted them, and even to the Apostles and all the first Christians, who received both: for if the one contains the very same thing with the other, and gives the very same thing, what need is there of having or of taking both, that is, of taking the very same thing twice over at the same time? If one species contain Jesus Christ whole and entire, his body, blood, soul, and divinity, and all these are given by one species, "what can be desired more," as de Meaux says, "than Jesus Christ himself?" And what then can the other species give but the same thing? Is Jesus Christ with whole humanity and divinity to be thus taken over and over, and to be taken twice at the same time? If he be, why not several times more, and if he were so, this might be done by taking several times the same species, since one species contains the same as both, even the whole substance, and the whole essential effect of the sacrament, and the very person of Jesus Christ himself. This does so alter the nature of the sacrament, by which we have a continual nourishment conveyed to our souls, and receive the grace and spirit of Christ by fresh and daily recruits, and in several measures and degrees every time we communicate, that it makes it not only to no purpose for any person to take more than one species at once, but to take the sacrament more than once all his whole life; for what need he desire more, who has received "together with the humanity of Jesus Christ, his divinity also whole and entire?"* And if he has received that once, there is no reason for receiving it again, for this, as it renders the grace and substance of the sacrament indivisible, as de Meaux often pleads, so it renders it infinite, to which nothing can be ever added by receiving it never so often; and if we thus make this sacrament to give the very body and blood of Christ, and so the whole and entire person of Christ and his whole humanity, and his whole divinity, instead of giving the spiritual graces and virtues of Christ's body and blood, we then make every communicant to receive all that by one single communion, which he can ever receive by never so many thousands, and we make all persons to receive this alike, how

* P. 314.

ever different the preparations and dispositions of their minds are, and even the most wicked and vile wretches must receive, not only Christ's body and blood, but even his soul, and his divinity, and his whole and entire person; for though the spiritual graces and virtues may be given in different measures and degrees, and in different proportions, according to the capacity of the receiver, yet the humanity and divinity of Christ, which is whole and entire in each species, never can.

Thirdly, If Christ's body and blood were thus always joined together in the sacrament, and were both contained in one species, yet this would not be a true sacramental reception of them, for to make that, they ought to be taken as separate and divided from one another, his body from his blood, and his blood from his body, and not as conjoined or mixed together; this was the way and manner which Christ himself appointed, and this is the only way by which we can be said to eat his body and to drink his blood; and as they own they ought to be thus consecrated, so they ought also to be thus received; for I cannot understand why they might not be as well consecrated together as received together, and why it would not be as true a sacrament with such a consecration as with such a sumption; nay, I think the consecration this way would have more sense in it than the sumption, for it is nothing so odd and strange, to suppose the bread to be turned into the body and blood of Christ, as to suppose, that by eating that we both eat the body and drink the blood of Christ; to make eating and drinking the same thing, or to say we drink by eating, and eat by drinking, are very unaccountable and unintelligible expressions, so that concomitancy does wholly confound those two sacramental phrases and sacramental actions. "But is it not enough," says de Meaux,* "for a Christian to receive Jesus Christ? Is it not a sacrament where Jesus Christ is pleased to be in person?" But Jesus Christ is not received in the sacrament in any other manner but by receiving his body and blood, nor is it his person he bids us receive, but his body and blood, and the way by which we are to receive them is by eating the one and drinking the other, and we cannot be properly said to do that, or to receive Christ, or his body and blood sacramentally, but this way: though the body and blood of Christ therefore should be both in one species, and both received by one species, yet this would not be the eating the body and the drinking the blood;

* P. 323.

for as one of their own popes, Innocent III. says, and Durandus from him, “Neither is the blood drank under the species of bread, nor the body under the species of wine; for as the blood is not eaten nor the body drank, so neither is drank under the species of bread, nor eat under the species of wine.”* And therefore though they should be both received according to them by one species, yet they would not be both eat and drank, that is, received sacramentally; eating and drinking are distinct things, and both belong to the sacrament; and though eating and drinking spiritually be, as de Meaux says, the same thing,† and “both the one and the other is to believe:” yet eating and drinking sacramentally are not, but are to be two distinct outward actions that are to go along in the sacrament with our inward faith.

This doctrine of concomitancy, and of receiving the body and blood of Christ together in that gross manner which is believed in the Roman Church, does quite spoil the sacramental reception of Christ’s body and blood; for according to that, they can never be received separate and apart, no, not by the two species, but they must be always received together in either of them; so that though by the institution the species of bread seems particularly to contain, or rather give the body, and the species of wine the blood, and as St. Paul says,‡ “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?” Yet hereby either of them is made the communion of both, and it is made impossible to receive them asunder, as Christ instituted and appointed, and as is plainly implied by eating and drinking, and seems to be the very nature of a sacramental reception: but

Fourthly, This concomitancy makes us to receive Christ’s body and blood, not as sacrificed and shed for us upon the cross, but as they are now living and both joined together in heaven; whereas Christ’s body and blood is given in the sacrament, not as in the state of life and glory, but as under the state of death, for so he tells us, “This is my body which is given for you,” that is, to God as a sacrifice and oblation, and, “This is my blood which is shed for the remission of sins.” So that we are to take Christ’s body in the sacrament

* Nec sanguinis sub specie panis, nec corpus sub specie vini bibitur aut comeditur, quia sicut nec sanguis comeditur, nec corpus bibitur, ita neutrum sub specie panis bibitur, aut sub specie vini comeditur. Durand. Rational. l. 4. c. 42. † P. 184. ‡ 1 Cor. x. 16.

as it was crucified for us and offered up upon the cross, and his blood as it was shed and poured out, not as joined with his body, but as separated from it; the virtue of Christ's body and blood cometh from his death, and from its being a sacrifice which was slain, and whose blood was poured out for to make expiation for our sins, and as such we are to take Christ's body and blood, that is, the virtue and benefits of them in the sacrament: for as de Meaux says,* "This body and this blood with which he nourisheth and quickeneth us, would not have the virtue if they had not been once actually separated, and if this separation had not caused the violent death of our Saviour, by which he became our victim." So neither will it have that virtue in the sacrament if the body be not taken as broken and sacrificed, and the blood as shed or poured out, and both as separated from one another: de Meaux owns, "We ought to have our living victim under an image of death, otherwise we should not be enlivened."† I do not well understand the meaning of a "living victim," for though Christ who was our victim is alive, yet he was a victim only as he died; so that a living victim is perhaps as improper a phrase as a dead animal. If we are to receive Christ then in the sacrament as a victim or sacrifice, we are to receive him not as living but as dead; I would not have de Meaux, or any else mistake me, as if I asserted that we received a dead body, "a dead flesh, a carcase," as he calls it,‡ in the sacrament, for he knows we do not believe that we receive any real flesh, or any proper natural body at all, but only the mystical or sacramental body of Christ, or to speak plainer, the true and real virtue of Christ's body and blood offered for us; and we are not only to have this under an image of death, that is, to have the two species set before us to look upon, but we are to receive it under this image, and to eat the body as broken, and the blood as poured out, and so to partake of Christ's death in the very partaking of the sacrament. De Meaux speaks very well, when he says,§ "The virtue of Christ's body and his blood coming from his death, he would conserve the image of his death, when he gave us them in his holy supper, and by so lively a representation keep us always in mind of the cause of our salvation, that is to say, the sacrifice of the cross." But how is this image of his death conserved in his holy supper, if Christ be there given not as dead but living? Concomitancy does rather mind us of Christ's resurrection, when his body

* P. 311.

† P. 312.

‡ P. 309.

§ P. 312.

was made alive again and reunited to his soul and to his divinity, than of his death when it was divided and separated from them ; and it makes us not to partake of Christ's body as crucified upon the cross, but as glorified in heaven ; as it is so indeed, Christ's body cannot be divided from his blood, and his whole humanity, soul and body, are always united with his divinity ; but we do not take it as such in the sacrament, but as his body was sacrificed, and slain, and wounded, and his blood as shed and separated from it.

They who can think of a crucified Saviour, may think of receiving him thus in the sacrament without horror ; de Meaux owns, that this mystical separation of Christ's body and blood ought to be in the eucharist as it is a sacrifice :* and why not then as it is a sacrament ? Is there any more horror to have Christ's body thus consecrated, than thus eaten and received ? "The words of consecration," he says, "do renew mystically, as by a spiritual sword, together with all the wounds he received in his body, the total effusion of his blood."† Why may we not then receive Christ's body as thus wounded, and his blood as thus poured out, in this mystical table ? And why must concomitancy join those together which consecration has thus separated and divided ? Christ's body and blood, we say, ought to be thus mystically separated in the sacramental reception of them, and so ought to be taken separately and distinctly ; they own they ought to be thus mystically separated in the consecration, though how that consists with concomitancy is hard to understand ; but whatever they have to say against the separating them in the reception, may be as well said against their separating them in the consecration ; "Is Christ then divided ? Is his body then despoiled of blood ? And blood actually separated from the body ? Ought Christ to die often, and often to shed his blood ? A thing unworthy the glorious state of his resurrection, where he ought to conserve eternally human nature as entire as he had at first assumed it."‡ Why do they then make this separation of his body and blood when they consecrate it ? If that be only mystical and representative, so is it in our reception much better, for we do not pretend to receive Christ's natural body and blood, as they do to consecrate them, but only his mystical body and blood, which is always to conserve this figure of death, and the character of a victim ; not only when it is consecrated, but when it is eaten and drank,

* P. 180, 181.

† Ibid.

‡ P. 310.

which it cannot otherwise be. It is this error of receiving Christ's natural body in the sacrament, which has led men into all those dark mazes and labyrinths wherein they have bewildered and entangled themselves in this matter, and so by applying all the properties of Christ's natural body to his mystical body in the sacrament, they have run themselves into endless difficulties, and destroyed the very notion, as well as the nature of the sacrament.

The third principle of Monsieur de Meaux is this: "that the law ought to be explained by constant and perpetual practice." But cannot then a law of God be so plain and clear as to be very well known and understood by all those to whom it is given, without being thus explained? Surely so wise a law-giver as our blessed Saviour, would not give a law to all Christians that was not easy to be understood by them; it cannot be said without great reflection upon his infinite wisdom, that his laws are so obscure and dark, as they are delivered by himself, and as they are necessary to be observed by us, that we cannot know the meaning of them without a further explanation: if constant and perpetual practice be necessary to explain the law, how could they know it, or understand it, to whom it was first given, and who were first to observe it before there was any such practice to explain it by? This practice must begin somewhere, and the law of Christ must be known to those who began it, antecedent to their own practice: there may be great danger if we make practice to be the rule of the law, and not the law the rule of practice, and God's law may be very fairly explained away, if they are left wholly to the mercy of men to explain them: for thus it was the Pharisees, who were the great men of old for tradition, did thereby reject and lay aside the commandment of God, by making tradition explain it contrary to its true sense and meaning. This principle therefore of Monsieur de Meaux's, must not be admitted without some caution, and though we are well assured of constant and perpetual practice for communion in one kind; yet the law of Christ is so clear as not to need that to explain it, and we may know what appertains or does not appertain to the substance of the sacraments from the law itself, and from the Divine institution of them, as I have all along shewn in this treatise.

It would have been a great reflection upon the Church, if its practice had not agreed with the law of Christ, though so plain and express a law ought neither to lose its force nor its

meaning by any subsequent practice ; I have so great a regard and honour for the catholic Church, that I do not believe it can be guilty of any practice so contrary to the law of Christ, as communion in one kind ; and I have therefore fully shewn, that its practice has always agreed with this law, in opposition to de Meaux, who falsely reproaches the Church with a practice contrary to it ; his design was to destroy the law of Christ by the practice of the Church ; mine is to defend the practice of the Church as agreeable to, and founded upon the law of Christ ; but the law of Christ ought to take place, and is antecedent both to the Church's practice and the Church's authority : as to tradition, which was the main thing which de Meaux appealed to, I have joined issue with him in that point, and must leave it to those who are able to judge which of us have given in the better evidence ; and I do not doubt but we may venture the cause upon the strength of that ; but there is another more considerable plea, which is prior to tradition, and which, as de Meaux owns,* "is the necessary ground work of it," and that is Scripture, or the command and institution of Christ contained in Scripture, which is so plain and manifest, that it may be very well understood by all without the help of tradition ; I do not therefore make any manner of exceptions to tradition in this case, only I would set it in its right place, and not found the law of Christ upon tradition, but tradition upon the law of Christ, and I am willing to admit it as far as de Meaux pleases, with this reasonable proviso, that it does not interpret us out of a plain law, nor make void any command of God that may be known without it ; I have therefore prevented de Meaux in all he brings for tradition and the practice of the Church, unless he will lay so great stress upon that, as to make it null, and supersede a Divine law ; nor am I at all concerned in all the instance she brings for it out of the Old and New Testament ; † unless he can bring one to prove, that either the Jewish Synagogue or the Christian Church, did ever make void a Divine law by a contrary practice and tradition of their own ; I can never allow any Church to have a power and authority to do this, and I am willing to allow it all authority that is kept within those bounds. It was boldly and openly done indeed by the Council of Constance, when it owned, that Christ instituted the sacrament and administered it to his

* P. 201.

† Sect. 5. Sect. 6.

disciples under both kinds,* and that the faithful received it under both kinds in the Primitive Church: yet to command it under one by its own power and authority, and by its own prerogative to give a *non obstante* to Christ's institution; this was done like those that had a sufficient plenitude of power, and were resolved to let the world see they had so, and that Christ's own institution was to give way to it; they had not then found out the more sly and shifting subtleties that Christ gave the cup to his disciples only as priests, and made them priests just after the giving them the bread; this was a late invention found out since that Council, by some more timorous and wary sophisters, who were afraid of setting up the Church's power against a Divine institution; neither did they then offer to justify the communion in one kind by the tradition and practice of the Primitive Church, as de Meaux and others have done since, but they plainly gave up this, and only made a late custom, which was afterwards introduced, to become a law by virtue of their present power, notwithstanding the institution of Christ and the practice of the Primitive Church to the contrary: here the case truly lies, though de Meaux is willing to go off from it, there must be a power in the Church to void a Divine institution, and to null a law of Christ, which can be no other than an antichristian power in the strictest sense, which may by the same reason take away all the positive laws of Christianity, or else communion in one kind is not to be maintained; and this power must be in a particular present Church, in opposition to the primitive and universal, or else this communion is not to be maintained in the Church of Rome. De Meaux must be driven to defend that post which he seems to have quitted and deserted, or else he can never defend his half-communion, which is contrary, as I have proved, and as the Council of Constance owns, to the institution of Christ, and to the practice of the Primitive Church. The new out-work he has raised from tradition, in which he puts all the forces of his book, and the main strength of his cause; this I have not beat down or destroyed, but taken from him; and this cause can never hold out upon his own principles of tradition and the practice of the Church,

* Licet Christus post cœnam instituerit et suis Discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie panis et vini hoc venerabile Sacramentum—Et similiter quod licet in primitiva Ecclesia hujusmodi Sacramentum recipere-
retur a fidelibus sub utraque specie. Concil. Constant. Sess. 11. [Sess. 13. vol. 12. p. 100. Lut. Par. 1672.]

which is a very strong battery against it, as I have largely shewn; so that all that he says for tradition is in vain, and to no purpose, since this tradition he pleads for is utterly against him, and if it were never so much for him, yet no tradition can take away a divine law.

He seems to own, and I think he dare not expressly deny, that what is essential to the sacraments, or belongs to the substance of them, cannot be taken away by tradition or the power of the Church; but he utterly destroys this by making only tradition and the practice of the Church to determine what is thus essential to the sacraments; for if nothing be essential but what is made so by them, and may be known by them, then they have a power to make or to alter even the very essentials of the sacrament, which are hereby made wholly to depend upon the Church and tradition: we are willing to own that nothing is unalterable in the sacraments, but what is essential to them, and that all other indifferent things belonging to them, may be altered by the Church, or by tradition; but then we say, that what is essential is fixed and known by the institution, and by a divine law, antecedent to tradition; and if it were not so, then there were nothing essential in the sacraments at all, but all would be indifferent, and all would depend upon tradition and the Church's power; and then to what purpose is it to say, that the Church has power only in the accidentals, and may alter whatever is not essential, or belongs not to the substance of the sacraments? This only shews that they are ashamed to speak out, and they dare not but grant with one hand, that which they are forced to take away with another; they dare not openly say that the Church has power over the essentials of the sacraments; but yet they say, that there are no essentials but what are made and declared to be so by the Church: so the strait they are in obliges them in effect to revoke their own concessions, and truth makes them say that which their cause forces them to unsay again, and they are put upon those things in their own necessary defence, which amount in the whole to a contradiction.

If the Bishop of Meaux can shew us, that any Divine institution was ever altered by the Jewish or Christian Church, or any law of God relating to practice and ceremony was ever taken away by a contrary practice and tradition, then he says something to the purpose, of communion in one kind; but if the many instances which he brings for tradition out of the Old and New Testament, do none of them do this, they are then

useless and insufficient, they fall short of what they ought to prove, and come not up to the question in hand, but are wholly vain and insignificant, and to shew they are so, I shall reduce them to these following heads :

1. They chiefly relate to the Church's power in appointing and determining several things which are left indifferent and undetermined by the law of God ; and here we acknowledge the Church to have a proper power, and that it may oblige even in conscience to many things, to which we are not obliged by the law of God ; and may determine many things for the sake of peace and uniformity in divine worship, which are not so precisely determined by God himself. Thus the Jewish Church might settle the time of vespers, on which their sabbaths and feasts were to begin, the evening being to them the beginning of the next day ; so they might appoint also the manner of observing the new moons : thus they might also settle the times of the three sacrifices, the Daily, the Sabbatical, and the Paschal, when they were all to be offered the same day upon one altar ; and determine which of them should be offered first, though God himself had not determined it : but could they take away any one of these sacrifices which God had commanded, upon a pretence that the others were sufficient without it ? Could they have neglected either the new moons or the evening oblations which God had appointed, because they might appoint what God had not done, namely, the manner of observing them ? Because they could regulate several things relating to the law, and necessary to the observance of it, which God had not determined ; could they therefore void the law itself, or transgress and violate it in any of those things which God had particularly appointed ? Thus the Christian Church may order many things relating to divine worship, and even to the sacraments themselves, which no law of Christ has ordered or determined, as the time, the place, the outward form and manner of administering them ; and yet these, as de Meaux says, are absolutely necessary for the observation of the divine law ; which cannot be observed without some of those circumstances. Thus as to baptism, it may appoint it to be performed by sprinkling or dipping, because neither of those are commanded by the word *baptize*, but only washing with water, as I have shewn before against de Meaux ; but to do this in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is absolutely necessary, because this is commanded, though whether with that form, " I baptize thee," or, " Be thou baptized," which is used in the Greek Church, is indifferent.

Thus as to the eucharist, the Church may command it to be taken kneeling or standing, which was an ancient posture of receiving it; it may use such a form of words in the consecrating the elements, and in blessing the bread and wine, or another; for it is plain, one was not always used, and St. Gregory tells us, that “the Apostles consecrated only with the Lord’s Prayer.”* It may use such a sort of bread and wine, or another, for no particular sort is commanded; but it is necessary to bless and to give both, because both are instituted and both are commanded, and the ministers, who are the “stewards of the mysteries of God,”† these alone have the ordinary power of blessing and distributing to the people, but they may do this by the hands of the deacons, or by suffering the people to take them and divide them among themselves: such things as these, which de Meaux offers to us as great difficulties, are only indifferent things left undetermined by the divine law, in which the Church has a power to appoint what it thinks most proper for decency and order and edification; and thus the greatest knots with which he designed to entangle us, are easily resolved and untied, and yet not any of the divine laws are in the least loosened or dissolved. One of the greatest things he urges for the necessity of tradition and the practice of the Church, is the baptism of infants, for which he says we can produce nothing from Scripture, but must be forced to resolve it wholly into tradition; as to that I am not willing to begin another controversy with him here, and therefore shall only send him to Bellarmine for his satisfaction, who proves infant baptism from Scripture‡ as well as from tradition, and says, “it may be clearly gathered from Scripture itself.”§ But if it were not, does it follow, because the Church may make a law which is not contained in Scripture, that therefore it may break a law which is? And because it may appoint some things which God has left indifferent, that therefore it may forbid what he has absolutely commanded?

2. Other instances produced by de Meaux, relate not only to matters ecclesiastical, but to those that were civil, or at least mixed, and so belonging to the power of the magistrate, as the *Lex Talionis*, and the prohibition of marriage with the Moabites and Ammonites: the civil magistrate was to see all

* Epist. 63. [Ep. 64.] ad Syr. [Lib. 9. Ind. 2. Ep. 12. Par. 1705.]

† 1 Cor. iv. 1.

‡ Bellarm. de Sacram. Baptismi. c. 8, 9. [vol. 3. p. 142, &c. Prag. 1721.]

§ Tamen id et colligitur satis aperte ex Scripturis. [Ibid. p. 145. col. 1.]

possible justice done by the one, according to God's own command; and it was a commendable act in him to prevent all mischief that might have come by the other, though this was done without a divine precept, by a general power vested in the magistrate, or a particular and immediate direction, perhaps given by God to Esdras and Nehemiah: but how these can any way serve de Meaux I cannot imagine, in the present controversy, unless he would prove the magistrate not bound to execute the *Lex Talionis* at all, or that the Jews might have dispensed with the law in Deuteronomy, which forbade marriages with the Canaanites, because upon the same ground and reason they forbade those also with the Ammonites and Moabites afterwards.

3. Some cases he mentions were excused upon the account of necessity, which when it is notorious and unavoidable, dispenses with a positive law. Thus David's eating the shew-bread, which it was not lawful but for the priests ordinarily to eat, is approved by our Saviour, Matth. xii. 4, not upon the account of tradition, or the judgment of the high-priest, but the extreme hunger which he and his companions were then pressed with, and which made it lawful for them to eat of the hallowed bread, when there was no other to be procured: but did this make it lawful afterwards for the high-priest or the Sanhedrim, to have made the holy bread always common to others when there was no such necessity? Thus if some Christians lived in a country where it was impossible to have any wine, this might excuse them from taking the cup, but does this justify the making a general law to take away the cup when there is no such necessity for it? and the same may be said of many other like instances.

4. In other cases, when a law was founded upon a particular reason, the ceasing of that made the law to cease, which was wholly grounded upon it, as in the prohibition of eating blood, and things strangled, and meats offered to idols, this being to avoid giving any scandal to the Jews at that time, when the reason of it ceased, so did the law; and it is not so much tradition which makes it void, as those general sayings of Christ and the Apostle, that "nothing which enters in at the mouth defiles the man;" and "that whatever is sold in the shambles may be eat, without asking any question for conscience sake."

As to the Jews defending themselves upon the Sabbath, on which they were commanded so strictly to rest, it was both necessity and the reason of the law which made this justifiable, and not any tradition or any sentence of the Sanhedrim; and

our Saviour, when he blames their superstitious observance of the Sabbath, does not reprove them for keeping it as it was commanded, or otherwise than tradition had explained it, but contrary to the true reason and meaning of it, and to the true mind and will of the Lawgiver.

As to the Christians' changing the Sabbath into the first day of the week, this was not done by tradition, but by the Apostolical authority ; and whatever obligation there may be antecedent to the law of Moses for observing one day in seven, it can never be proved that the Jews observed exactly the seventh day from the creation, much less that the Christians are under any such obligation now, or I may add, if they were, that tradition would excuse them from a Divine law.

All the instances which Monsieur de Meaux heaps up, are very short of proving that ; and though I have examined every one of them, except that pretended Jewish tradition of praying for the dead, which is both false and to no purpose, yet it was not because there was any strength in them to the maintaining his sinking cause, but that I might take away every slender prop by which he endeavours in vain to keep it up, and drive him out of every little hole in which he strives with so much labour to earth himself, when after all his turnings and windings, he finds he must be run down.

If any instance could be found by de Meaux or others, of any tradition, or any practice of a Church, contrary to a divine institution, and to a plain law of God, they would deserve no other answer to be returned to it, but what Christ gave to the Pharisees in the like case : " Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition ?" * Our Saviour did not put the matter upon this issue, whether the tradition by which they explained the law, so as to make it of none effect, was truly ancient and authentic, and derived to them from their forefathers ; but he thought it sufficient to tell them that it made void, and was contrary to a Divine law.

There is no tradition, nor no Church, which has ever broke so plain a law, and so shamefully violated a divine institution, as that which has set up communion in one kind ; the true reason why it did so, was not tradition, no, that was not so much as pretended at first for the doing of it, but only some imaginary dangers and inconveniences, which brought in a new custom contrary to ancient tradition ; these were the only

* Matth. xv. 3.

things insisted on in its defence at first, “the danger of spilling the wine, and the difficulty of getting it in some places, and the indecency of laymen dipping their beards in it:” these were the mighty reasons which Gerson brought of old against the heresy, as he calls it, of “communicating in both kinds;”* as if it were a new heresy to believe that wine might be spilt, or that men wore beards, or as if the sacrament were appointed only for those countries where there were vines growing. De Meaux was very sensible of the weakness and folly of those pretences, though they are the *pericula* and *scandala* meant by the Council of Constance, and therefore he takes very little notice of them; and indeed he has quite taken away all their arguments against the particular use of the wine, because he all along pleads for either of the species, and owns it to be indifferent which of them soever is used in the sacrament; but I have shewn that both of them are necessary to make a true sacrament, because both are commanded, and both instituted, and both of them equally belong to the matter of the sacrament, and so to the essence of it, and both are ordinarily necessary to the receiving the inward grace and virtue of the sacrament, because that is annexed to both by the institution, and cannot warrantably be expected without both.

To conclude, therefore, communion in one kind is both contrary to the institution, and to the command of Christ, and to the tradition and practice of the Primitive Church, grounded upon that command, and is no less in itself than a sacrilegious dividing and mangling of the most sacred mystery of Christianity, a destroying the very nature of the sacrament, which is to represent the death of Christ, and his blood separated from his body; a lessening the signification and reception of our complete and entire spiritual nourishment, whereby we are sacramentally to eat Christ’s body and drink his blood; an unjust depriving the people of that most precious legacy which Christ left to all of them, to wit, his sacrificial blood which was shed for us, and which it is the peculiar privilege of Christians thus mystically to partake of: and lastly, a robbing them of that grace, and virtue, and benefit of the sacrament which belongs not to any part, but to the whole of it, and cannot ordinarily be received without both kinds. Oh! that God would therefore put it into the hearts of those who are most con-

* Tractatus Magistri Johannis de Gerson contra hæresin de communione Laicorum sub utraque specie.

cerned, not to do so much injury to Christians and to Christianity; and not to suffer any longer that divine mystery, which is the great foundation of all spiritual grace and life, to be tainted and poisoned with so many corruptions as we find it is above all other parts of Christianity! And oh! that that blessed sacrament which was designed by Christ to be the very bond of peace, and the cement of unity among all Christians, and to make them all one bread and one body, may not by the perverseness of men and the craft of the devil, be made a means to divide and separate them from each other, and to break that unity and charity which it ought to preserve!

BOOK IV.

THE POPISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS

CONFUTED,

AS TO TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

A PARAPHRASE WITH NOTES, AND A PREFACE,

UPON THE

SIXTH CHAPTER OF ST. JOHN,

SHEWING,

That there is neither good reason, nor sufficient authority, to suppose that the Eucharist is discoursed of in that chapter, much less to infer the doctrine of Transubstantiation from it.

THE PREFACE.

“SIR,—It is not for nothing that we are desired to read the sixth chapter of St. John every day. I have engaged my thoughts with what attention I can, upon those passages between the 51st and 61st verses ; and the more I consider them, the more favourably they seem to me to look upon that opinion, that the very flesh of Christ is eaten in the sacrament. I know not what to say to this, that though the Jews understood Christ’s words, of eating his very flesh, and he saw plainly enough that they did so ; yet he went on in the same train of expressions, “ Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.” I know you told me, that these passages are not to be interpreted of the sacrament ; and that there is no mention in them of any outward and visible signs ; which are necessary to a sacrament. But I have heard that the Church always thought these words to be spoken of the sacrament. And besides, though there be no mention of a sacrament, yet if Christ’s words enforce this, that the natural substance of his flesh must be properly eaten by us, it will follow that it must be thus eaten in the sacrament of his body and blood, unless we could tell how or where else it is to be done. I would be glad to see such a paraphrase upon this chapter, as you speak of, which

would help to make all appear plain. And it were well if others might see it too, and thereby see this at least, that you are so well satisfied with your own reasons, that you are not afraid to let those judge of them that are otherwise persuaded.

“I am, &c.”

SIR,—You are desired to read the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel every day, and this I doubt not for the sake of that part of it between ver. 51, and ver. 61; which seems to require eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ in the proper sense. And here I make no question your thoughts were closely engaged. But perhaps you have not applied that attention to the rest of the chapter, which you gave to that part where the difficulty lies, and then no wonder that the difficulty still remains. For I beg leave to put you in mind once more, that the true sense of those difficult passages, as you count them, is to be gained by observing their connection with all the rest. And therefore to that request, that you would often read the sixth chapter of St. John, which I acknowledge to be a reasonable request, I must add another as reasonable as that, which is, that you would not only often read, but likewise often consider the whole chapter, and mind our Saviour's design in it; that you would therefore observe what sort of people he had to do with, and what was the occasion of this conversation between him and them; what was the fundamental cause of their prejudices against him; and with what arguments and applications he laboured to remove those prejudices.

For you will then find, that they were men whose “belly was their God, and who minded earthly things;” that they followed Christ for the loaves; that he disappointed their hopes; that they were angry at it, and altered their opinion of him upon it; that their earthly-mindedness was the reason why they now liked him not, but set themselves to cavil at all his sayings; and to take them off from the cares and pleasures of this present life, he laid before them better and greater things, the means and hopes of everlasting life: finally, that he calls the means and causes of bettering our minds, and bringing us to everlasting life, meat and drink; and our believing and obeying his doctrine, eating and drinking. And then, if I am not deceived, you will easily acknowledge, that in particular he calls the belief of his death and passion for the sins of the world, and the saving fruits of that faith, eating his

flesh and drinking his blood : and that there is no more reason to imagine that his flesh should be eaten, and his blood drank, in the proper and corporeal sense, than that he should make himself bread to be eaten by us, as we use to eat bread : but that there is good reason to understand throughout, by that eating and drinking which he required, spiritual actions only, which the whole strain of his discourse shews that he opposed to that corporeal feeding which they were so inordinately solicitous for.

I must for the same reason desire you to mind those plain intimations scattered here and there in our Lord's discourse ; by which it is evident what he meant by eating and drinking. He saith, ver. 29, "This is the* work of God, that ye BELIEVE on him whom he hath sent ;" which is an interpretation of ver. 27,† "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but," &c. Again, ver. 35, "He that BELIEVETH on me, shall never thirst." And again, ver. 47, "He that BELIEVETH on me hath everlasting life." So likewise ver. 36. and ver. 40. This, I say, is fit to be minded. For when not only the occasion he had to use these terms of eating and drinking (which was their following him for their bellies), shews these terms to be allusive ; but (as if that were not enough) he likewise added now and then the plain and proper meaning of those allusions ; it must, I think, be a wilful mistake in him that attends to this, to interpret those expressions as if they were not allusive.

Nor is this all ; for you may please to consider also, that when our Saviour found some of his disciples to understand him as the carnal Jews did, he thought fit, for more abundant satisfaction, to explain his meaning once for all, ver. 62, 63, as you will find by the ensuing paraphrase and notes.

As for our Saviour's repeating those expressions at which the Jews had already taken offence, you may consider, that ver. 51, he added that expression of drinking his blood, to that of eating his flesh ; which was a more plain intimation of that violent death which he was to suffer for us, than that former saying, of giving his flesh for the life of the world. And so, though he kept still to the allusion, yet he represented what kind of death he was to suffer more fully than he had done before. But perhaps you are at a loss why he continued to speak allusively at all, when he found that he was so grossly misunderstood. And then I answer, as I have done

* ἔργον.

† ἐργάζεσθε.

in the notes upon that place, that I am not obliged to say precisely what our Saviour's reason was for that. But, besides what you will find there, it may be said, that sometimes it well becomes a man of wisdom and authority, when he finds his words perverted by cavilling people, to repeat them again, and thereby to speak his own assurance, that they did not drop unadvisedly from him, and that it is not his own, but his hearer's fault that he is misunderstood. And this is the more reasonable to be said in the present case, if the Jews wilfully perverted our Saviour's words to that absurd sense of eating his flesh with their teeth, as it is probable they did ; and that because his expressions were plainly allusive, and because also the allusion was now and then explained, as I shewed before. What inconvenience is it therefore, to suppose that our Lord, perceiving that his divine discourses and exhortations had but hardened them into a spirit of contradiction, did not think himself bound to use presently the utmost plainness of words for the sake of men to whom he had spoken plainly enough already, if any good were to be done upon them. But for farther satisfaction in this matter, I refer you once more to the paraphrase and notes, which are already finished, and where some little light is given to those passages which may seem obscure ; enough, I hope, to lead you out of all danger of suspecting those words of our Saviour, ver. 51, &c. do enforce that the substance of his flesh must be eaten by us, either in or out of the sacrament.

It seems I told you, that these passages were not to be understood of the sacrament ; I should have added, that because they signify those things which are signified in the sacrament, that they may be very aptly applied to the sacrament, especially in exhortations to devotion : nay, and that there are some cases in which a man may argue from the one to the other, and some questions to which both the one and the other give equal light ; which may very well be, and yet it will by no means follow, that these words are primarily to be understood of the eucharist. And this opinion I cannot deliver up, merely because you have heard that the Church always held the contrary. No man, I believe, has a greater regard to the constant and universal tradition of the Church than myself. But then I do not think myself bound to believe that the Church has always held this or that, because this and that man tells me so. For if a man can speak, and has a cause to serve, it is as easy to say, Thus saith the Church, as to say, Thus saith

the Scripture. I remember indeed, that our countryman, Nicholas Sanders tells us, that* “to deny these words to be understood of the eucharist, is contrary to the instruction and authority of all antiquity.” And Maldonate says, that† “all the ancient Fathers acknowledge it.” And others say the same thing; and it seems you have heard it. Now this is but a custom of speaking, which some men have gotten; for I am well assured that all the Fathers were not of their mind.

Clemens Alexandrinus‡ supposes these expressions, to “eat the flesh of Christ,” and to “drink his blood,” to be as figurative as that of St. Paul, “to feed with milk;” and tells us, upon this occasion, that the word is variously allegorized, being called meat, and flesh, and nourishment, and bread, and blood, and milk; and that “our Lord is all these things for our enjoyment who believe in him.” Now I am persuaded you will not say that this Father interpreted the words under debate of the eucharist.

Tertullian, to shew that these words, “the flesh profiteth nothing,” do not make against the resurrection of the flesh, saith,§ “that we are to be directed to the sense of what is said by the subject matter of it. For because they thought his saying hard and intolerable, as if he intended his flesh should be truly eaten by them; he, to shew that the cause of life and salvation was spiritual, premised this, ‘that the spirit quickeneth;’ and then added, ‘the flesh profiteth nothing,’ that is, in respect of quickening. And then he shews what he means by the spirit, ‘The words that I speak unto you, they are

* Nic. Sanderus de Euchar. p. 23.

† Maldon. in Joan. 6.

‡ Οὕτως πολλακῶς ἀλληγορεῖται ὁ Λόγος, καὶ βρῶμα, καὶ σὰρξ, καὶ τροφή, καὶ ἄρτος, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ γάλα. “Ἀπαντα ὁ Κύριος εἰς ἀπόλανσιν ἡμῶν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων. Pædag. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 105. Paris. [p. 126. Venet. 1757.]

§ Sic etsi carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus. Nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi vere Carnem suam illis edendam determinasset, ut in Spiritum disponeretur statum salutis, præmisit, Spiritus est qui vivificat, atque ita subjunxit, Caro nihil prodest, ad vivificandum scilicet. Exequitur etiam quid velit intelligi spiritum. Verba quæ locutus sum vobis, Spiritus sunt, Vita sunt. Sicut et supra, Qui audit sermones meos et credit in eum qui, &c. Itaque Sermonem constituens vivificatorem, quia Spiritus et Vita Sermo, eundem etiam Carnem suam dixit, quia et Sermo Caro erat factus, proinde in causam Vitæ appetendus et devorandus auditus, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus. Nam et paulo ante Carnem suam Panem quoque cœlestem pronunciarat, urgens usquequaque per allegoriam, &c. Tertul. de Resur. Carnis. c. 36, 37. [p. 347. Par. 1695.]

spirit, and they are life.' As he had said also before, 'He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into condemnation, but hath passed from death to life.' Therefore making his word to be the quickening principle; since his word is spirit and life, he called his word also his own flesh; for the Word was also made flesh; and therefore in order to life, it is to be hungered after, and devoured by HEARING, and to be chewed again by the UNDERSTANDING, and to be digested by FAITH." And afterwards he affirms, that our Lord all along urged his intent by an allegory. So that Tertullian was so far from thinking these passages to refer to the eucharist, that I am in some doubt whether he understood them with any special reference to the death of Christ.

Origen also interprets flesh and blood in like manner: for, says he,* "By the flesh and blood of his WORD, as with pure meat and drink, he refresheth all mankind." And elsewhere he speaketh to the same purpose.†

St. Athanasius likewise seems to me to be of the same opinion, who speaking of the literal sense in which the Jews understood our Saviour, hath these words, ‡, "For how could his body suffice for so many to eat of, that it should become nourishment for the whole world? It is," says he, "for this reason that he mentioned the Son of man's ascending into heaven, that he might draw them off from the corporeal notion." Which testimony, as it manifestly shewed his judgment to be, that our Saviour did not require the proper eating of his natural body; so it contains a very probable argument, that he did not understand those words of eating his sacramental body. For if he had so understood them, it had been very accountable that the body of Christ, *i. e.* his sacramental body, was sufficient for the nourishment of the whole world. And by removing all corporeal notions of eating and drinking, he seemed to establish only a spiritual notion.

* Carnibus enim et sanguine Verbi sui, tanquam mundo cibo atque potu reficit omne hominum genus. Orig. in Levit. Hom. 7. [vol. 2. p. 225. col. 2. Par. 1733.]

† Vide in Matth. Tract. 12. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 898. col. 2.]

‡ Πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφή γένηται; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσεν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοῦ ἀφελκύσῃ, &c. Athan. in illud Evangelii, Quicumque dixerit, &c. [vol. 1. p. 771. Heidelb. 1601.]

But St. Jerome is plain and full to this purpose, beyond all contradiction, as I am persuaded. For thus he speaks,* “When Jesus saith, ‘He that eateth not my flesh, and drinketh not my blood,’ although it may be understood in a mystery (*i. e.* as I think, of the eucharist), yet the truer sense is, that the body of Christ, and his blood, is the word of the Scriptures, is divine doctrine.” And therefore he continues, not long after, in this manner: “If, when we hear the word of God; the word of God, and the flesh of Christ, and his blood is poured into our ears, and we think of something else, into how great a danger do we run?” Afterwards comparing it to manna, which was said to give that taste to every man which he liked best: “So,” saith he, “in the flesh of Christ; which is the word of doctrine, that is, the interpretation of the holy Scriptures; as we would have it, so we receive food. If thou art holy, here thou findest comfort.” St. Jerome could not have been more express, if he had been to maintain this interpretation against an adversary.

Nor does the paraphrase of Eusebius come much behind St. Jerome’s interpretation. For he makes our Saviour’s explication, ver. 63, to run as if he had said:† “Do not think that I speak of that flesh which I carry about me, as if you ought to eat that, or that I command you to drink my sensible and corporeal blood. You well understand that the words which I speak to you are spirit and life. So that,” as Eusebius goes on, “his words and doctrines are flesh and blood, of which whoever constantly partakes, he being nourished with heavenly bread, as it were, shall partake of the heavenly life.” He that says this, and knows what he says, could

* Quando dicit, Qui non comederit Carnem meam et biberit Sanguinem meum, licet et in mysterio posset intelligi, tamen verius Corpus Christi et Sanguis ejus Sermo Scripturarum est, Doctrina Divina est.—Si quando audimus sermonem Dei; Sermo Dei, et caro Christi, et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur, et nos aliud cogitamus, in quantum periculum incurrimus?—Sic et in carne Christi, qui est sermo doctrinæ, hoc est Scripturarum sanctarum interpretatio, sicut volumus ita et cibum accipimus. Hieron. Comment. in Psal. 147. [vol. 7. Append. p. 385. Veron. 1735.]

† Μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα ἣν περικείμεαι νομίζατέ με λέγειν, ὥς δεόν, αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν αἷμα πίνειν ὑπολαμβάνετε με προστάττειν, ἀλλὰ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά μου ἃ λελάληκα ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωὴ ἐστι. ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα. ὣν ὁ μετέχων ἀεὶ, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄρτοι οὐρανίου τρεφόμενος τῆς οὐρανόθεν ζωῆς. Euseb. Cæsariensis contra Marcel. de Eccles. Theol. lib. 3. c. 12. [p. 181. Colon. 1688.]

hardly suppose that the eucharist was particularly intended by our Saviour in these passages.

I shall trouble you with no more instances of this kind, these being sufficient to shew, that all the ancients did not understand those words of the eucharist. And now I will make no difficulty to grant, that the other opinion is not destitute of all authority, but has the countenance of some Fathers to support it. For we do not pretend to any such privilege of speaking, as to say, we have all the Fathers, in a case where we have not every one.

But this I must needs say, that those Fathers, who, as far as I have yet discovered, seem to speak most expressly in favour of the sacramental sense, do not come up to the peremptoriness and clearness of those who are for the spiritual sense.

St. Cyprian,* understanding the daily bread which we pray for, not only of common food, but of the eucharist, applies those words to it: "If any man eateth of this bread, he shall live for ever." And, says he, "as it is manifest, that they who belong to his body† (or family), and having a right thereunto, communicate in the eucharist, do live; so it is to be feared, and we are to pray, lest any of us being excommunicated and separated from the body of Christ, should be far removed from salvation, since himself uttered this threatening, Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood," &c.

Now I desire not to make less of these words than they imply. But yet I must say, that St. Cyprian seems, in these and in the foregoing words, which are to the same purpose, to interpret that bread, which he that eateth of shall live for ever, and the flesh and the blood of Christ, not only of the eucharist, but of all the means of grace that are afforded to his members in the communion of his body; whereof, as he had reason, he thought the eucharist to be the principal, to which no excommunicated person had right. Not to say that the eucharist might be here particularly mentioned, because those words, "except ye eat," &c. have a more clear allusion to the eucharist, than to any other means. Nor am I alone in this interpretation of St. Cyprian; for thus saith Priorius,‡ "The explication of this place is taken from Tertullian, cap. 6. *de Orat.* Therefore by desiring daily bread, we pray for a perpetual continuance in Christ, and to remain undivided from

* Cypr. de Orat. Dom. [p. 147. Oxon. 1682.]

† Qui corpus ejus attingunt. [Ibid.]

‡ Notæ in Cypr. Paris.

his body.” Thus also Rigaltius upon the place: “The words of God the Father, which Christ in the flesh brought for our salvation, are here to be understood. Therefore all that time in which Christ lived amongst us in the body, his preaching, his Gospel, is the body and flesh of Christ. It is the cross of Christ, it is the blood of Christ. With this meat and drink we Christians are nourished to eternal life” By which it is manifest, that Rigaltius did not understand St. Cyprian in that manner, as to abate at all of his judgment, that the spiritual sense* of eating and drinking, is to be understood throughout in the sixth of St. John.

St. Basil† is another who applies these words to the sacrament; not where he undertakes to give their proper meaning, but in his moral collections, under the head of receiving the eucharist; which I do not see but he might do, and yet believe that the spiritual sense of eating and drinking Christ was directly intended. For, as I have already told you, the eucharist represents the death of Christ, and our spiritual feeding thereupon; and these words in St. John signify what the eucharist represents. No wonder therefore if Christian writers, in speaking of the eucharist, produce these words, which have so near an affinity with it. And this I think they may do pertinently enough, without supposing that these passages in St. John signify the eucharist, because they signify some of the same things which the eucharist signifies.

St. Augustine indeed brings forth that saying, “Except ye eat the flesh,” &c. in his disputations against the Pelagians, supposing there, as it should seem, that it was a direct and proper command to receive the eucharist, under the penalty of damnation: and I remember, that in one place he urges it for the necessity of communicating infants. This is so notoriously known, that I shall not turn to the places; and though I will not be positive, yet I think he is not clear for this sense, in any other cause, but that wherein he was engaged against the Pelagians. But there is this very great prejudice against his authority in this matter, that elsewhere, *viz.* out of the heat of that controversy, he gives clearly another sense of these words, and speaks of them as if they were reductive only to the eucharist. Mark therefore what he says:‡ “Therefore by

* Observ. Rigalt. in Cypr. Id.

† Basil. Moral. Reg. 21. [vol. 2. p. 354, 355. Par. 1839.]

‡ Hunc itaque cibum et potum, societatem vult intelligi corporis et membrorum suorum, quod est sancta Ecclesia in prædestinatis et vocatis,

this meat and drink, he would have us to understand the society of his body and members, that is, the holy Church, consisting of his predestinated, and called, and justified, and glorified saints and faithful." And presently after: "The sacrament of this thing, that is, of the unity of the body and blood of Christ, is in some places every day, in other places upon certain days prepared upon the Lord's table, and received from the Lord's table; by some to life, by some to destruction. But the thing itself, of which it is the sacrament, is for life to every man, for destruction to no man, whosoever he be that partakes of it." By which words it is evident, that St. Austin did not here understand that eating of the flesh, and drinking of the blood of Christ, to which salvation is promised, of sacramental eating, but of being incorporated into the invisible Church of Christ; and this, because he says, "the sacrament of this thing may be received to destruction;" and because he expressly says, that "this meat and drink is the society of the body of Christ, consisting of his predestinated, &c. members."

And that therefore he would not have scrupled to interpret eating by believing; since it is faith by which we are united to the body of Christ, no reasonable man will question. However, we have his own word for it, who, upon that saying of our Saviour, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent," goes on thus,* "This therefore is to eat that food which perisheth not, but endureth to everlasting life. To what purpose dost thou make ready thy teeth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten." Afterwards he puts both together:† "Let him come and believe, and be incorporated, that he may be quickened."

Which words of his are the more remarkable, because in that place he professedly treats of the exposition of this chapter. Where also upon that saying, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him," he dis-

et justificatis, et glorificatis Sanctis, et fidelibus ejus.—Hujus rei Sacramentum, id est, unitatis Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in Dominica Mensa præparatur, et de Mensa Dominica sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium. Res vero ipsa cujus Sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit. Aug. Tract. 26. in Johan. [vol. 3. par. 2. p. 500. Par. 1680.]

* Hoc est ergo manducare cibum, non qui perit, sed qui permanet in vitam æternam. Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? Crede et manducasti. In Tract. 25. [Ibid. p. 489.]

† Accedat, credat, incorporetur ut vivificetur, Id. Tract. 26. [p. 499.]

courseth thus :* “ This it is to eat that food, and drink that drink, *viz.* to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in me. And therefore he that dwelleth not in Christ, and in whom Christ dwelleth not, undoubtedly doth not spiritually eat his flesh, nor drink his blood, although he doth carnally and visibly press with his teeth the sacrament of his body and blood ; but he rather eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a thing to his condemnation ; because being impure, he hath presumed to come to Christ’s sacraments, which none worthily receives who is not pure ; of which it is said, Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” Whence it is manifest, that in St. Austin’s judgment, to eat the flesh of Christ, and to drink his blood, was to eat and drink it spiritually, so as good and holy men only do partake thereof, not all that do press the sacrament thereof with their teeth. And it is further observable, that if “ to eat that food, and drink that drink,” be, as St. Austin says, “ to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwell in us ;” then all holy persons do constantly eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, because they still dwell in Christ, and Christ in them ; but they are not always receiving the sacrament, and therefore St. Austin could not understand these words properly of the eucharist.

And that these were not sudden notions of his, appears from this, that we find them elsewhere, and particularly in his book of the City of God, towards the end ; which book he finished just before his death. There he hath these words :† “ for neither are they to be said to eat the body of Christ, because

* Hoc est manducare escam illam et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in me habere. Ac per hoc, qui non manet in Christo, et in quo Christus non manet, proculdubio nec manducat spiritaliter carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, sed magis tantæ rei Sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus præsumpsit ad Christi accedere Sacramenta, quæ aliquis non digne sumit, nisi qui mundus est, &c. Tract. 26. in Joh. [Ibid. p. 501.]

† Nec isti ergo dicendi sunt manducare Corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi. Ut enim alia taceam, non possunt simul esse, et membra Christi, et membra meretricis. Denique ipse dicens, Qui manducat Carnem meam, et bibit Sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo : ostendit quid sit non Sacramento tenus, sed revera Corpus Christi manducare et ejus Sanguinem bibere ; hoc est enim in Christo manere, ut in illo maneat et Christus. Sic enim hoc dicit tanquam diceret, Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare Corpus meum, aut bibere Sanguinem meum. De Civit. Dei, lib. 21. c. 25. [vol. 7. p. 646. Par. 1685.]

neither are they to be accounted amongst his members. For to omit other things, they cannot be both the members of Christ, and the members of an harlot. Lastly, Himself saying, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him, sheweth what it is to eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, not by the sacrament, but verily and indeed; for this is to dwell in Christ, so as that Christ dwelleth in him." For his speaketh this, was as if he had said; "He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, should not say or think that he eateth my flesh, or drinketh my blood." Now the persons here spoken of, were Christians of vicious lives, who yet received the sacrament, and continued in the communion of the Church to the last. But since St. Austin, denying that they eat the body of Christ in truth, even when they received the sacrament, does also affirm that Christ spake of receiving his body in truth only, when he said, "He that eateth my flesh, &c." it seems evidently to follow, that when St. Austin wrote these passages, he did not understand those places in St. John of sacramental eating. Finally, by comparing this place with the former, it is plain also, that to eat and drink Christ spiritually, and to eat and drink him in truth and reality, was in St. Austin's judgment all one; and consequently, that we may really eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, though we do it not corporeally. These passages of this Father, I have the rather insisted upon, because I have affirmed in the notes, that he would not allow that a wicked man is truly a partaker of the body and blood of Christ; which is evident from these passages, though I have produced them chiefly to shew what his most deliberate thoughts were concerning the sense of the sixth chapter of St. John.

But after all, though I verily think that I could make out a title to the consent of all the Fathers, with vastly more probability than those who claim it for the other opinion; yet, suppose that they have these three that are cited last, and as many more as they can name with any colour; what would they get by it, if notwithstanding, these Fathers did not believe that the natural flesh of Christ was properly eaten, and his blood properly drank by the faithful in the eucharist? What if they believed the substance of bread and wine to remain in the sacrament, and that Christ himself should be fed upon by the mind only; and therefore that these words themselves, "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c." though spoken of the sacrament, were not properly but figuratively to

be understood? If this be so, they have lost their main cause, and have taken a great deal of pains to be where they were at first; and this dispute, whether the Church has always understood the eucharist to be directly intended by our Saviour in the mentioned passages, is lost, as to any advantage that transubstantiation can get by it.

That the substance of bread and wine remains after consecration, is manifest from St. Cyprian;* and that Christ is fed upon by the mind only, from St. Basil;† to whom I refer you, that I may not be over-tedious; especially since for the present, one testimony of St. Augustine may serve the turn. Observe therefore these words of his, concerning the exposition of Scripture phrases:‡ “If the saying be preceptive, either forbidding a wicked action, or commanding to do that which is good, it is no figurative saying. But if it seems to command any villany or wickedness, or to forbid what is profitable and good, it is figurative. This saying, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you; seems to command a villanous or wicked thing. It is therefore a FIGURE, enjoining us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and to lay it up in dear and profitable remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes.” The vast pains that have been taken to avoid this testimony, are a convincing argument that prejudice may grow to that strength as to be invincible. You will confess, I doubt not, that this passage so plainly shews St. Austin’s persuasion in this matter, that as it needs no words to illustrate it, so it is capable of no answer to the purpose,

To come to a conclusion. As I have shewn that several Fathers did not understand the mentioned words of our Saviour as spoken of the eucharist; so I could shew, that very many doctors of the Roman communion have declared against it; amongst whom Cardinal Cajetan, for his singular merit, and because I have referred to his reasons in my notes,

* Epist. ad Cæcilium. † In Isai. cap. 3. [vol. 1. p. 633. Par. 1839.]

‡ Si præceptiva est locutio, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. Nisi manducaveritis, inquit, carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, vitam in vobis non habebitis, facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere; figura ergo est præcipiens Passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter in memoria recondendum, quod caro ejus pro nobis crucifixæ et vulneratæ sit. De Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. c. 16. [vol. 3. par. 1. p. 52. Par. 1680.]

ought to be particularly remembered. In his commentary upon ver. 53, "Verily, verily, I say," &c. he comes to speak of a third sense, *viz.* of sacramental eating by worthy receivers: "And," says he, "the sense is this; except ye really eat the flesh of the Son of man in the sacrament of the host, and drink his blood in the sacrament of the chalice, you have no life in you. So that, according to this sense, not only the sacrament of baptism, but the sacrament of the eucharist also, under both kinds, is necessary to salvation. But the usage of the Church is repugnant to this sense, since she does not give the communion to infants at all, nor to the people under both kinds; and not only the usage, but the doctrine of the Church too, because she teaches, that it is sufficient to salvation to communicate under the species of bread. And though this authority be sufficient to shew that the text does not deliver a precept of receiving the sacrament in both kinds, and consequently, that it does not deliver a precept of eating and drinking the sacrament of the eucharist; yet the Bohemians—are not satisfied, but produce this text for themselves against our usage and doctrine, saying, that if our Lord had not treated of receiving the sacrament in these words, he would not have distinguished between eating and drinking, least of all between eating the flesh, and drinking the blood; but since he so accurately distinguisheth between these things, he insinuates his discourse to be concerning the reception of the eucharist, &c. But," says the Cardinal, "these things are easily thrown off; by observing, that in this very chapter Jesus said not long before, 'He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.' For in these words, which, it is plain, do not belong to the sacrament of the eucharist, our Lord distinguishes hunger from thirst, which is equivalent to his distinction between eating and drinking. For hunger refers to eating, and thirst to drinking. Therefore from the distinction between eating and drinking, no solid argument can be drawn to infer the discourse to be of the sacrament of the eucharist. In like manner the distinction between flesh and blood availeth nothing to their purpose, but rather against them; because the flesh is not distinguished from the blood after any sort, but only as they are separated; as meat from drink. But it is evident, that the real separation of the flesh and blood of Christ in the sacrament is represented only; but in the death of Christ it was actual, and according to the thing itself. And if it be urged, that the flesh and the

blood are here discoursed of under the notion of meat and drink, and not according to what they were in their own nature, and that for this reason the discourse runs upon the flesh in the sacrament, and the blood in the sacrament, separated one from another: the answer to this is afforded by what has been already said, *viz.* that our Lord had spoken of himself before, as of one that takes away hunger, and of one that takes away thirst; and yet it is not also inferred from hence, that he spake of himself as under that species of the sacrament, whereby he takes away hunger, and that species of the sacrament whereby he takes away thirst. For he discourses of the flesh and blood,* which were parted at his death, as they are to be embraced by the mind, being the meat and drink of the soul: because unless our spirit be sustained by the death of Christ as by meat, and be delighted with it as with drink, there is not the life of the Spirit in us."

And now, Sir, having given you so large an account of this great man's opinion in his own words, I shall content myself to say in the general, that if it were needful, others might be produced for the same; even popes, cardinals, bishops, and doctors, who (as far as I can discern) were for number, as well as quality, not inferior to those who maintained the contrary side before the Council of Trent.

Nay, the Council itself would have better informed those that told you, the Church has still understood this part of the chapter as treating of the eucharist. There were warm discourses in the congregation between the divines, concerning the interpretation of these passages: but at last it was concluded, neither to affirm nor deny them to be meant of the eucharist; but it was agreed, however, to deny that the necessity of communicating in both kinds could be inferred, supposing that the eucharist was meant; that is to say, it was carried by the majority: and to gratify those that thought it was not meant, it was to be acknowledged that they had Fathers and doctors of their opinion. For the matter, all things considered, was accommodated as well as it could be in these words:† "Nor from that discourse in the 6th of St. John

* Partibus mortis suæ.

† Sed neque ex sermone illo apud Joannem sexto recte colligitur utriusque speciei communionem à Domino præceptam esse, utcunque juxta varias sanctorum Patrum et Doctorum interpretationes intelligatur. Conc. Trid. Sess. 21. cap. 1. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 846. Lut. Par. 1672.]

is it rightly gathered, that the communion of both kinds was enjoined by our Lord ; however that discourse be understood according to the various interpretations of the holy Fathers and doctors.”

I doubt I have said more than enough upon your short intimation of that pretence, that the Church has always interpreted these places of the eucharist. But I hope you will make this construction of it, that I am one of those who bear a due regard to the authority and tradition of the universal Church, as I believe you to be another. For which reason I thought it more needful to remove so great a prejudice out of your way, as the belief of the foresaid insinuation would have been. And I am confident you now see, that in maintaining the eucharist not to be intended by our Saviour in any part of this chapter, any more than other parts of Christianity, I am not obliged to encounter the authority of all the ancients, or of the whole Church ; nay, that in this matter I do not so much as entrench upon the authority of the Council of Trent itself.

Indeed that Council would have me to believe, that not one of the various interpretations of the Fathers and doctors makes against the communion in one kind. But I hope I may be excused, if I cannot believe that which several men of high rank in their own Church were not able to believe.

And as for that doctrine, that Christ is properly eaten in the eucharist, I ought to be excused too, if I can by no means believe it ; or else those Fathers must be condemned, who believed the Capernaïtes to be a perverse sort of men, for turning our Saviour's words in this chapter, to so inhuman and absurd a sense, as if he had exhorted them to eat a man's flesh, according to the propriety of those words. For no man can say, that this is either inhuman or absurd, who believes the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that Christ is properly eaten in the eucharist.

So that for what I can see, this chapter of St. John, instead of affording a solid argument for that conclusion, when it comes to be well considered upon the grounds of reason and authority, does at last yield a terrible objection against it.

I have thought of all these things with the liberty of one that loves truth, not without due regard to the ancient doctors of the Church. Our common Master hath taught me, to call no man master upon earth ; yet I never refused the help of his ministers to guide me into the knowledge of his truth : and since I have been able to use that help, I have still

valued, in the first place, that assistance which is offered me from the primitive bishops and Fathers. And this liberty I have been encouraged to use in the Church of England, not only for judging of points which she has not determined, but those also which she has. And from the bottom of my heart I give thanks to Almighty God, that I have had my education in the communion of a Church, which at the same time that it prescribes to me a rule of doctrine and worship, does give me full liberty to inquire all manner of ways, whether she has dealt sincerely with me or not. Under the discipline of so honest a Church, I trust that I have learned to be an honest man. For though I am as confident of the main question as I desire to be, yet I have, and by the grace of God always will have, a quiet reserve for better information : and I shall not count him an enemy but a friend, that both can and will discover my mistakes. For which reason I have obeyed your advice, and asked the leave of my superiors, to let these plain thoughts go into the world. And I let them go, much rather desiring that they may meet with contradiction, than approbation in any part, where they ought to be contradicted.

Nay, I will not refuse to make allowance for them who cannot oppose an adversary without huffing and vanity. If I can see that they offer though but a little reason, I will readily acknowledge it ; or if they offer none at all, let them but seem to believe what they say, and they shall not go without a reply.

As for that sense which I have (not without good authority) offered, of those passages in this chapter concerning the Father's drawing and giving men to Christ ; if it does not equally please all persons, I hope they who are otherwise minded will not be displeased with me, when I have declared, that I shall no longer care for it, when any man shall lead my understanding to a better.

Sir, I have but one thing more to say ; let you and I observe and follow the moral instructions of this chapter ; which if all would do, I am confident none of us should run into any dangerous mistake about the meaning of any part of it. Our Lord hath said it ; "that if any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." In paraphrasing our Saviour's discourses here, I could not but observe how apt it was to infuse a truly wise, honest, and godly temper into the minds of his hearers. And therefore for a conclusion, I added to the paraphrase, what I thought was a suitable exhor-

tation ; that whilst we may happen to dispute about the sense of some more difficult passages in this chapter, we may not forget to make the great design of it the subject of our practice. And so I commend you to the grace of God, and rest,

Your most, &c.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER OF ST. JOHN.

THE ARGUMENT.

THIS chapter begins with a narrative of the miraculous feeding of five thousand in the wilderness ; and consisteth wholly of those passages that happened upon this occasion. The people were so overjoyed with the miracle, that they resolved to make Jesus a king ; which he avoided, and secretly went to Capernaum. But they, not so satisfied, followed him thither the next day ; when he took another course to prevent their design ; and that by reproving their worldly-mindedness, and by calling them off from the cares and pleasures of this life, to mind heavenly things and everlasting life :] which so turned their stomachs against him, that they fell to cavil at his sayings, and to disparage his miracles, by setting up the manna wherewith Moses had fed their fathers, against his feeding them the day before. Whereupon he inculcated two things upon them with great earnestness : the one was this, that they might gain eternal life by him and his doctrines : which he therefore called the “bread of life,” and the “bread that came down from heaven ;” and therefore that it was a vain thing in them to challenge him with Moses’ giving their fathers that bread from heaven, which served only to sustain a mortal life. The other was this, that they had sufficient evidence of his coming from God ; but that they believed not, because of their worldly prejudices against him. Whereupon he tells them, that God had committed no other persons to his effectual care, to convince and save them, but such only who were disposed to receive the truth by an honest mind ; and that himself was not bound to conquer the obstinacy of unteachable men. Notwithstanding all which, they proceeded to cavil at his sayings ; and because, in allusion to the loaves he had multiplied, and to that manna which they boasted of, he had called himself the Bread of Life : and in pursuance of

such figurative speeches, he did also express believing in him, and trusting in his death, &c. by eating his flesh and drinking his blood : they exclaimed against him, as if he had, in the literal sense, offered his flesh to be eaten ; some of his own disciples also understanding him in that manner. To whom indeed he explained himself ; but for all that, upon his free reproof of their insincerity, they left him. And then he proved the constancy of his twelve Apostles, permitting them also to go, if they were not willing to stay ; shewing withal, that he understood who were sincere, and who were not.

THE CHAPTER.

THE PARAPHRASE.

Ver. 1. *After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias.*

2. *And a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased.*

3. *And Jesus went up into a mountain, and there he sat with his disciples.*

4. *And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.*

1. I shall not mention those miracles which Jesus wrought between the passover last mentioned (ch. v. ver. 1), and that which was now at hand (ver. 4 of this ch.), saving that only of the loaves ; which though it be reported by all the other Evangelists, yet they have omitted that discourse upon it which he had with the Jews. The occasion of it was this : he went in a boat with his disciples over that part of the lake of Genezareth in Galilee, which washeth the city Tiberias.

2. And a great multitude followed him on foot (Matth. xiv. 13.) through Tiberias, some of them being diseased persons, whom he cured in the desert where they overtook him, (Luke xi. 11.)

6. And he took his disciples with him to a mountain in that desert to instruct them.

4. But the people now hastening from all parts towards Jerusalem, because of the approaching passover ;

5. *When Jesus then lift up his eyes, and saw a great company come unto him, he saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?*

6. *(And this he said to prove him: for he himself knew what he would do.)*

7. *Philip answered him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little.*

8. *One of his disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto him,*

9. *There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes; but what are they among so many?*

10. *And Jesus said, Make the men sit down. Now there was much grass in the place. So the men sat down*

5. The company that came to Jesus in this desert place, was greatly increased; which he observing, was desired by his Apostles to speak to them to depart, and to provide for themselves: whereupon he said to Philip, Dost thou think it possible to procure meat for this multitude in the wilderness?

6. (Which he said, not that he was at a loss what to do, but to prove the faith of the man, who was none of the forwardest to believe.) (ch. xiv. ver. 9.)

7. Philip, not expecting a miracle, answered, All the stock we have will not buy bread enough for every one of these so much as to taste a little of.

8, 9. But Andrew presently interposed, saying, That they had five loaves and two small fishes; by which he seemed to expect that his Master would do some extraordinary thing, but what he knew not, the provision being so very little.

10. Then Jesus commanded the twelve to dispose the men in order upon the grass, of which there was great plenty at that time of the year (see ver. 4), and so they did (not distrusting the event), and found the men to be about five thousand.

in number about five thousand.

11. *And Jesus took the loaves, and when he had given thanks, he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would.*

12. *When they were filled, he said unto his disciples, Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost.*

13. *Therefore they gathered them together, and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves, which remained over and above unto them that had eaten.*

14. *Then those men, when they had seen the miracle which Jesus did, said, This is of a truth that Prophet which was to come into the world.*

11. And when Jesus had blessed the little food that was there, by thanking the great Creator and Preserver of all things; he with his own hands delivered so many portions of it to the twelve, and commanded them to divide themselves to administer to the multitude: and the bread and the fish were so marvellously increased as it went through their hands, that every one of that great company had as much as he desired to eat.

12, 13. And when they acknowledged that they had eaten enough, he bade the twelve, gather up the fragments, &c. And every one of them filled his basket with what was left; so that there were twelve baskets full of broken food, which was an evidence of the unquestionableness of the miracle, and that no juggle had been put upon the people's stomachs, since there remained so much to be seen after they had all eaten.

14. And this miracle was so plain, every one of them having his belly filled with it, that they called to mind (ver. 31.) how Moses gave their fathers manna in the wilderness, and foretold that God would raise up a Prophet like unto him out of their brethren; and now they concluded that this was that Prophet, and the person that was to deliver them from the Romans, as Moses delivered their forefathers from the Egyptians, &c. since he, as well as Moses, could,

15. *When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.*

16. *And when even was now come, his disciples went down unto the sea,*

17. *And entered into a ship, and went over the sea, towards Capernaum: and it was now dark, and Jesus was not come to them.*

18. *And the sea arose, by reason of a great wind that blew.*

19. *So when they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, they see Jesus walking on the sea, and drawing nigh unto the*

in the greatest extremity supply them with what provisions they should need.

15. And of this they talked so vehemently, that at last they resolved to make him their king, whether he would or not; which Jesus perceiving, he first sent away his own disciples, almost forcing them into the boat that brought them thither, and promised to be with them before they came to the other side (ver. 17. Mark vi. Matth. xiv.) And being thus rid of his disciples, who were pleased with the resolution of the people, and ready enough to join with them in it, he more easily satisfied and dispersed the multitude: and so without any followers he returned to the mountain to pray by himself.

16. Now it was just about the evening, when the disciples came down to the shore,

17. And entered into the boat to go over towards Capernaum; but it grew very dark before Jesus came to them.

18. And the sea also was tempestuous with a contrary wind; (Mark vi. 48.)

19. Insomuch that their sails being a hindrance to them, they laboured hard with their oars; and yet by the fourth watch of the night, they had not gained above twenty-five or thirty furlongs; when they saw Jesus walking upon the sea, as if he were passing by the ship; and not yet knowing him, they took him for an apparition, and were afraid. (Matth. xiv. 26.)

ship ; and they were afraid.

20. *But he saith unto them, It is I ; be not afraid.*

21. *Then they willingly received him into the ship ; and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went.*

22. *The day following, when the people which stood on the other side of the sea, saw that there was no other boat there, save that one whereinto his disciples were entered, and that Jesus went not with his disciples into the boat, but that his disciples were gone away alone :*

23. *(Howbeit there came other boats from Tiberias, nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks:)*

24. *When the people therefore*

20, 21. But when they knew him, they received him gladly, believing that all things would go well now he was with them, and so it proved : for though they had made so little progress before, yet now the ship came presently to the place whither it was bound.

22. Now the people whom Jesus had fed in the desert, were not so perfectly dispersed, but that many of them kept together till the day following, and came to the shore where the disciples took ship the evening before ; and although they knew there was no other boat there, when the disciples went to sea, but that into which they entered, and that Jesus did not go with them :

23. (Though there came other boats from Tiberias afterwards, which these men found that morning, near the place where the miracle was wrought:)

24. Yet knowing that the disciples were gone, and not being able to find Jesus on

saw that Jesus was not there, neither his disciples, they also took shipping, and came to Capernaum, seeking for Jesus.

25. *And when they had found him on the other side of the sea, they said unto him, Rabbi, when camest thou hither ?*

26. *Jesus answered them and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye seek me not because ye saw themiracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled.*

27. *Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth to everlasting life; which the Son of man shall give unto you : for him hath God the Father sealed.*

that side, they believed he was gone after after them, though they knew not how (ver. 25). And so they resolved to follow the disciples in those boats that were newly come from Tiberias, hoping to find Jesus himself with them at Capernaum or Bethsaida.

25. And when they found him, they desired to know by what miracle he got thither so soon, for they knew he went not over with his disciples, and no other boat was on the other side to transport him but those in which they came ; and the way by land, over the bridge of Tiberias, was too far about to get thither in so short a time.

26. But Jesus, without satisfying their curiosity in this matter, turned the discourse to things of greater moment, and answered them in this manner : I certainly know that ye do not follow me for the true end of those miracles which I work ; that is, that ye might believe in me, and obtain everlasting life ; but merely for that present benefit which you hope to receive by them, as you did yesterday, when you did eat, &c.

27. But I had a farther end in feeding your bodies, which now I require you to mind ; and that is, to persuade you not to take so much pains for the prolonging of a life which will shortly end ; as for that virtue and knowledge which are the food of souls, and the means of living happily for ever, when this life shall be no more. You should follow the Son of man for such things as these, the Father having shewed him to be the Person who should convey these blessings to the souls of men, and that by those wonderful works which he hath sent him to do for the relief of their bodies.

28. *Then said*

28. These men were so suddenly dis-

they unto him, What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?

29. *Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.*

30. *They said therefore unto him, What sign shewest thou then, that we may see, and believe thee? what dost thou work?*

gusted with this spiritual doctrine, that they replied in this manner: We who have the law of Moses, do already know what works God requires; and canst thou tell us what will be more pleasing to him than our keeping of the law?

29. Jesus answered, God hath sent his Son into the world to reveal a better doctrine, and to prescribe a better life than Moses did; and that work pleasing to God, and necessary to your salvation, which you must do, is in short this: to believe in him whom God hath sent, and to take his word for your security, in doing all that he requires.

30. But they were so strangely prejudiced against Jesus, upon his calling them off from the cares of this world to a heavenly life and a better hope, that the late miracle for which they had so extolled him (ver. 14), was now in their opinion nothing at all. And so they replied to him, as if they had said: If thou pretendest to a higher doctrine than Moses taught, why dost not thou shew us equal, if not greater signs and wonders than he wrought, that we may see them, and believe thee for their sake? What dost thou perform answerable to such a mighty faith as thou requirest of us?

NOTES.—Ver. 30. This sudden turn of theirs was so strange, that Grotius does not allow those that said this to be the same persons that were fed in the wilderness the day before. But I can see no reason for his opinion; for the Evangelist plainly seems to continue the relation, as of the same persons; and it is no unusual thing for men, either to keep or alter their persuasions, as they are led by their prejudices and interests. And our Saviour told those that had been fed in the wilderness, that they followed him for worldly advantages, and not for instruction in spiritual and heavenly matters, ver. 26. So that finding themselves disappointed, it was not unlikely that they would fall in their opinion of him. To which we may add, that one main design of his following discourse was to shew, that external evidence was not sufficient to create faith, without the inward preparation of a sincere and honest mind; which was very pertinent to the case of those men who were made confident that Jesus was that Prophet, by the late miracle, till they found that his doctrine was contrary to their worldly affections. For which reasons, I have chose to continue the discourse in the paraphrase as the text seems to direct, *i. e.* between Jesus

and the same persons that spake to him, ver. 25, rather than to substitute other speakers, for which there is neither authority of the text, nor any need upon the account of avoiding inconvenience.

31. *Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat.*

32. *Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven.*

33. *For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.*

31. It is true, that in our need thou gavest us bread to eat, making five loaves to serve above five thousand of us. But what was this to Moses's feeding our fathers in the desert, who were vastly many more, and this for forty years, with manna also, which was not earthly food, such as we eat yesterday, but bread from heaven, as we are taught in Psalm lxxviii. 25.

32. Now the reply that Jesus made to this, supposed that these men wanted not evidence of his coming from God; and that they ought not to compare the manna which their fathers eat with the bread that he had given them the day before, but rather, with that inestimable blessing which God had now bestowed upon them, in giving his Son for the life of the world. And in this he pursued his constant design, of taking off their affections from worldly, and directing them to heavenly things. For he answered them to this effect: Whereas you magnify Moses for giving your fathers bread from heaven, I tell you, it came not from that heaven which is the place of immortality, but only from that region of the air; which, though it be also called heaven, shall at last perish with the earth. But now God offereth unto you that which, in the most excellent sense, is heavenly bread, and which indeed comes from the place where his majesty dwelleth.

33. Whereas also you extol Moses for preserving the lives of your fathers in the wilderness, so long as he did; you may consider it was but a short life at longest, which that bread served to sustain. But he whom God hath now sent from heaven, is indeed, and desires therefore to be called the true bread, because he can preserve you

to eternal life. And lastly, the bread which Moses gave you fathers, did indeed serve a great many ; yet they were but a very few in comparison, for that which I speak of, is sufficient to give eternal life to the whole world.

34. *Then said they unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread.*

34. They replied hereupon: We desire no other bread than this which thou so highly magnifiest, give us but such bread always as this, and without all question we shall believe thee.

Ver. 34. They are still the same persons that speak, for there is yet no reason to suppose the contrary. And by this saying, it seems they understood Jesus as if he had spoken to them of bread from heaven, in the literal and gross sense, and by giving that to them, from day to day, had promised to make them live for ever ; so that from his last words, they seemed to conceive some better hope of him again, and that he would go on to fill their bellies every day. Therefore they spake to him now with more respect. So hard it was even for Jesus to bring them to any understanding, or sense of things that concerned their minds, though he would lead them thereunto, by allusion to things grateful to their senses. And this indeed was the general temper of the Jews in our Saviour's days, who were also in this respect rather worse than their forefathers. It was just such another answer that the Samaritan woman made to a like speech of our Lord, as you may see, ch. iv. 13, 14, 15.

35. *And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life : he that cometh to me shall never hunger ; and he that believeth on me, shall never thirst.*

35. Jesus answered : If you understand me aright, you have your wish. I do not now discourse of those signs which you desire to see, before you believe (for you have already had signs in abundance), but of the far greater benefits which you will gain by believing in me, than your fathers had from Moses. I tell you, therefore, that I am the bread of everlasting life ; and he that believeth in me, and submitteth to my doctrine, hath the bread and water of life, and shall hunger and thirst no more ; for he shall need no other means of obtaining everlasting life, than to become my disciple.

36. *But I said unto you, That ye also have seen me, and believe not.*

36. Do not think that I take that for granted which I ought to prove, for you have already seen enough to convince you that I speak the truth. But as I told you before (ver. 26), signs and miracles will not work true faith in you so long as you follow

me for temporal benefits, and have not learned to prefer spiritual good things and everlasting life above meat and drink, and all the enjoyments of this world whatsoever.

Ver. 36. These persons, of whom our Lord said that they believed not, were those very men, who the day before, having seen the miracle which he did, said, "This is of a truth that Prophet that should come into the world." Whereby it should seem that then they believed, but that their minds were now changed, though upon no other reason, than that they now perceived his great design was, to feed their minds with good doctrine, and not to pamper their bodies. Which is a plain instance how great a hindrance worldly-mindedness is to true faith, since in this case, the same evidence which convinced these men, while they took our Saviour to be a benefactor to their bodies, had lost all its force with them when they once perceived that his great business was, to save their souls. Some also of our Lord's disciples were of this disposition; and it had the same effect upon them, as you may see, ver. 64.

37. All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.

37. So that the reason why you believe me not, is because you are not prepared by a good and honest heart to receive the truth. And now I tell you, that the Father, who would have all to be saved, does not expect that I should give a good account of any other persons, but such as are of a towardly and teachable disposition. These he hath committed to my especial care; and they will learn of me, and not one of them shall want means requisite for his conviction and instruction. But though I came to save the world (ver. 51), I am not bound to bring those to faith and salvation, that obstinately set themselves against all that evidence which is sufficient for honest minds.

Ver. 37. It seems very reasonable to interpret these phrases of the Father's giving some to Christ, and drawing them, by what our Lord said, ver. 26, that these men followed him, because they did eat of the loaves; *i. e.* not from a sincere desire of learning the truth, and attaining eternal life, but for worldly ends: for on the one side, the lusts of these men were the cause of their unbelief; on the other side, our Saviour says, that all who are given and drawn by the Father, would believe and become his disciples, and none else: therefore the Father gives those only to Christ, who are prepared by an honest heart, and willingness to learn. The phrase is an allusion to what is often seen amongst us, *i. e.* to a man's committing the care of educating a hopeful and promising child, to a wise and skilful master, with the expectation of having a good account of him at last. Not but that these expressions also imply the preparations of the

heart to be from the Lord: neither does this hinder, but that our Lord must be understood to have done what was fit to prepare those whom he found so adverse as these men were. (See notes on ver. 45.) But the meaning is, that if men obstinately persisted in their sensual and worldly prejudices against the truth, God had provided no remedy for such men. And therefore, as St. Chrysostom shews, we must not argue in this manner: *viz.* If “every one whom the Father draweth, or giveth, cometh to Christ, and none else; then those whom the Father giveth not, are discharged of all fault, and cannot justly be accused. For, says he, these are vain words and mere pretences; since the free choice of our own wills must go to the effecting of this matter: for to be taught, and to believe, depends much upon our own choosing.

38. *For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me:*

39. *And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.*

38. For in this matter, as well as in all others, I do what is as much the Father's will, as my own. And I came from heaven to do it, and cannot depart from it. Observe therefore what I say.

39. It was his pleasure to commit to my care, all persons of honest and well-disposed minds, that not one of them should be lost, but that I should do all things which would bring them to faith and repentance, and should take care of their salvation from the first to the last; even till I shall raise them from the dead at the last day.

Ver. 39. Although the wicked shall be raised up at the last day, by the power of Jesus, as well as the just, yet when the resurrection is simply mentioned, it is commonly understood of the resurrection to eternal life, *i. e.* the resurrection of the just. And by speaking of this resurrection at the last day, our Lord did now put them out of doubt, that he meant not to pamper their bodies, and to take care for their pleasures in this life; but that he spake to them of a better life after this, and the means of attaining it.

40. *And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have ever-*

40. For it was his decree also, that every one who seeing the works that I do (ver. 36), and attentively considering the evidence, whereby it appears that I came from God, does thereupon believe and follow my doctrine, that he, I say, should have everlasting life, and that I should for that end raise him up at the last day. Now as my

lasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day.

Father doth not expect that I should save any but those that believe and obey the Gospel; so neither doth he expect that I should bring any to faith, but those that are of teachable dispositions. But if men obstinately set themselves to oppose all means of conviction and reformation, it was no part of the trust committed to me by the Father, to reclaim them notwithstanding their incorrigibleness.

Ver. 40. To see Jesus, signifies the same that it does ver. 36, *i. e.* seeing his miracles and all other testimonies of a divine authority that were discernible in him: only θεωρῶν seems to note an attentive consideration of them, which is proper to ingenuous and honest men, and will certainly produce faith. Whereas ἐωράκατε, ver. 36, may signify that careless and superficial sight of his works, proper to those men in whom prejudice so prevailed, that they saw, and yet believed not. Now that our Saviour does here, and elsewhere, repeat his doctrine concerning that inward work of God, *viz.* an honest and godly disposition, is an argument that he laid great stress upon it; and that indeed this was the main thing they were to take pains with themselves about. For the outward evidence was given them whether they would or not; but the inward preparation, without which the outward evidence would do them no good at all, must in some part be their own work as well as God's; which was plain, from Christ's speaking to them so much about it as he did. For if it was not their own fault that they were not inwardly prepared; and if it was impossible for them to do anything considerable towards it, his reproof had seemed something unreasonable and unjust; and if they had so understood it, they had not been wanting to tell him so.

41. The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, I am the bread which came down from heaven.

41. But the people were by no means pleased with what Jesus said; for they expected he would give them bread from heaven, as Moses had done for their fathers (ver. 34), but now they plainly perceived, that by the bread of life coming down from heaven, which he spake of, he meant himself and his doctrine (ver. 35), and that instead of feeding their bodies, he promised them everlasting life; which they were not greatly concerned about. And upon this disappointment, they again set themselves to disparage him all they could.

42. And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose

42. And said one to another, Why does this man, whom we know to be the son of Joseph and Mary, pretend such high things of himself? How could he come from hea-

father and mother we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven?

43. *Jesustherefore answered and said unto them, Murmur not among yourselves.*

44. *No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day.*

ven, who was born into this world as other men are, and in as mean circumstances as the most?

43. To these cavils Jesus answered, Do not lose time, by raising difficulties about my person and doctrine: there is another work that lies upon your hands, which is at present more seasonable and necessary for you, than to strain for objections against what I say, and that is, to mend your tempers; to shake off your worldly spirits; to make eternal life your end, and sincerely to desire the knowledge of that way which leads to it.

44. For if you are not thus qualified, all my sayings and works will never convince you of the truth: for the Father did not send me into the world with any other charge, than that I should do what is abundantly sufficient to save men of plain honesty and sincere intention; which dispositions therefore you should endeavour after; and if by the grace of God you obtain them, then you will readily understand and embrace the truth. But till then you do but entangle yourselves to no purpose: and therefore I advise you to leave off objecting and disputing, till you have learnt plain duties, and to become honest men. And I tell you again, I will take care that no such persons shall want abundant means of conviction and salvation, but they shall be my peculiar charge, from the time that they are so disposed, till I shall raise them up at the last day.

Ver. 44. St. Chrysostom observes, that upon this saying the Manichees confidently affirmed, that nothing was in our own power: for, said they, "If a man comes to him what needs he to be drawn? But, says he, this does not take away all power over our own actions, but rather shews that we stand in need of God's help, and that not every negligent person, but he that takes great pains with himself, will come to Christ." The true sense of this verse is more largely expressed in the Paraphrase, and in notes upon ver. 37.

45. *It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me.*

45. And these admonitions I give you, are warranted by the prophets, who have foretold, that when the kingdom of Christ shall begin to be established upon the earth, men shall not want any reasonable means of conviction for the saving of their souls, because God will then vouchsafe to appear more remarkably to instruct men than ever he did since the world began: and therefore if any man remains in unbelief, or refuses to obey, it cannot be for want of means to make him wise unto salvation, but for want of an humble and an honest mind, and a sincere intention, without which, God's speaking to men by his own Son, will have no success upon them, but leave them as bad as they were before. But because God is a Master, in whom nothing can be wanting to instruct; every one that desireth to know the truth, and to be saved, will submit to the doctrine of his Son, and become his disciple.

Ver. 45. The 54th chapter of Isaiah containeth a description of God's gracious care and providence over his Church; one instance whereof, ver. 33, is this, "And all thy children shall be taught of God." Which must needs imply these two things: 1. That God would reveal that truth which the Church should profess; and this was eminently done by the Son of God himself coming down from heaven to make it known, and by the Holy Ghost inspiring the Apostles afterward. 2. That God would abundantly satisfy men by divine testimonies, that he had sent his Son into the world for that purpose. For these reasons, all that believe in Christ are taught of God. Now the force of our Saviour's argument, from this prediction, lies in this: if God hath promised to reveal to men the knowledge of saving truth, and to convince them that he doth reveal it; then no man to whom this revelation is made shall want sufficient means of instruction and conviction; and consequently, every man that is not under the power of worldly lusts and interests, will be effectually wrought upon by them. And this freedom from such prejudices, our Lord here calls hearing and learning of the Father, which is the same with being given or drawn to Christ (the phrase used before); and this intimates that it is something we do towards the preparing ourselves; and that we may also hinder it: for hearing and learning are voluntary actions. A man may stop his ears against instruction, and alienate his mind from what is suggested to him: therefore something men may do to attain that honest heart which the divine inspiration worketh: they may also quench this work of the Holy Spirit. The meaning of the whole is, as if our Lord had said: You must

have God for your Master, before you can be the disciples of the Son : you must be prepared by those qualities, which there is no need of a new revelation to teach you, before you are fit to receive that doctrine which the Son brings. And now it is plain, that these very speeches and reasonings of our Saviour, tended to prepare them for conviction and faith : for by shewing them the great need of a teachable spirit in hearing and learning of God ; and what blessings the want of this disposition would bereave them of, and by repeating and inculcating upon them, that great concernment of the resurrection at the last day ; he did what was most proper in itself to dispose them to a better mind, to weaken their prejudices, and to make them attend to those testimonies of his coming from God, which they had already seen, instead of desiring more signs, which in the temper they were in at present, would have done them no good if they had been granted.

46. *Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father.*

46. The meaning of which Scripture is not, that any man shall be immediately taught by the Father : for the will of the Father is not thus to be manifested to any of you, it being the privilege of the only begotten Son, intimately to know his mind, without the mediation of any other person (ch. i. 18.)

47. *Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.*

47. Take notice therefore of what I say, The will of my Father, which by me he makes known to you, is this, that he who receiveth my doctrine, firmly believing it, and submitting his heart and soul to it, shall as surely obtain everlasting life, as if he were possessed of it already.

Ver. 47 This saying of our Saviour explains all that he says about the necessity of eating, &c. shewing clearly, that he meant the believing of his doctrine, and being conformed to it in heart and life. For if he that believeth shall obtain everlasting life, then he eateth Christ, according to his meaning in this chapter, that believeth in him.

48. *I am that bread of life.*

48. And therefore, as I told you before, you are to look upon me as the true bread of life, whereof I have been speaking to you ; for I came down from heaven to guide you to everlasting life.

Ver. 48. Here our Lord calleth himself *bread* again, thereby implying what he afterwards expressed, that he is to be eaten. Now most certainly we are in such a sense to eat Christ, as that is wherein he is bread. But no man will say, that Jesus was, or can be properly bread ; therefore it is not eating him literally and properly that can be here meant, but only believing on him, which is by the same figure called eating, whereby he called himself bread.

49. *Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead.*

50. *This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die.*

49. Which should make you concerned to attend my instructions, instead of desiring such bread as Moses gave your fathers in the wilderness, which served only to sustain a short life in this world, for they are long since dead that eat it, (ver. 31, 34.)

50. But I bring you food from heaven, which whosoever eateth, it shall preserve him to everlasting life : for I bring you a doctrine, the belief and obedience whereof will avail to your salvation ; and I who bring it, am come with the highest authority to require your faith, and with divine testimonies of my authority to justify your faith ; so that nothing is wanting to secure your salvation, but forwardness on your own parts to eat this heavenly food that I invite you to feast upon, now that it is brought down to you from heaven, and is as near you, as that bread wherewith I fed you yesterday in the wilderness. Nothing is wanting, I say, but that you would think who it is that God hath sent to you, and of how great concern to your souls that message is which I bring you from heaven, and how abundantly God hath testified that I come from him to give you everlasting life ; and that considering these things, you would do like reasonable men, believe what I say, and receive my doctrine into your very hearts and souls, and give thanks to God for his unspeakable gift.

Ver. 50. This is the first place where our Saviour, in pursuance of that figure of calling himself bread, expresseth believing in him (ver. 35, 47), by eating him. In the 35th verse, where he also calls himself the bread of life, he did not pursue the figure throughout, by saying, he that eateth me, but he that cometh to me, *i.e.* who is my disciple, shall never hunger ; and he that believeth on me (not he that drinketh me) shall never thirst : which makes it very plain, that by eating here, we are to understand believing ; not a corporeal, but a spiritual action. And because it does not yet appear that he limits the object of believing, we are therefore to understand him as speaking of the necessity of receiving his whole doctrine, and submitting to it in heart and life ; which whosoever does shall not die, but live eternally.

51. *I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.*

51. And when I tell you, that I am the living bread which came down from heaven, and which he that eateth of shall live for ever; as you are to understand this with respect to all that doctrine which I deliver, so especially with respect to that part of it, that I am come into the world to lay down my life for the salvation of mankind. And as I came for this end, so I will give my body to the death, for the life of the world; which is an infinitely greater benefit, than either your fathers received from Moses, when he gave them manna to eat; or than you received from me yesterday, when you were filled with that provision I made for your bodies.

Ver. 51. Without doing great violence to our Saviour's words in this place, they cannot be so understood, as if he promised to turn bread into his flesh, for the life of the world; as they must suppose, who would ground the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation upon this place. For if some such change were here to be understood, it must be quite contrary, *viz.* a change of his flesh into bread; inasmuch as he calls himself the living bread, and says, that "the bread which he would give was his flesh, that he would give for the life of the world." If therefore it be insisted upon, that the words are to be properly understood, and that therefore a change must be supposed of one substance into another, it must not be of bread into the substance of Christ's flesh, but of Christ's flesh into the substance of bread: which interpretation I think, nobody has ever yet been so unreasonable as to contend for. What account therefore is to be given of these words, but this, that our Saviour having hitherto pursued a figurative way of speaking, upon the occasion so often mentioned, went on in the same way of expression, to lay before them that principal doctrine of the Gospel, that Christ was to die for the salvation of mankind: which is the plain sense of giving his flesh to be bread for us: for he gave his flesh for the life of the world, when he gave himself to the death for us all: and his flesh so given, is bread to us, because his death is the means of our living for ever.

And whereas Christ mentioned the giving of his flesh for the life of the world, as a future thing; and likewise the giving of his flesh to be bread; it does not follow, that because the former was to be performed upon the cross only, therefore the latter was to be performed only in the eucharist. This, I say, does not follow, unless it could be proved that he promised, in those words, to give us his natural flesh to be eaten properly in the eucharist; which I have shewn is impossible to be proved from hence. Still therefore we are to understand, not a corporeal, but a spiritual eating: and whereas our Saviour said, "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;" the meaning is this, that his flesh shall be given for the life of the world once for all; but the

spiritual food, or nourishment, which his flesh so given should afford, would be given evermore, not only in the eucharist, but in the whole ministration of the Gospel; which holds forth the death of Christ to be believed, and offers the blessed fruits and advantages thereof to all that are disposed to partake of them.

It is also objected against this interpretation, That if the doctrine of our Lord's passion, and the believing of it, be here meant, no reason can be given, why our Saviour should speak in the future tense, "the bread which I will give is my flesh:" since this spiritual food was no less given before the incarnation and passion of Christ, than afterward; for the patriarchs lived, and were nourished by faith. And therefore if spiritual eating be only intended, Christ seemed to promise a new thing, which yet he had given of old: so that his promise is to be understood of giving his natural flesh to be eaten, which was never done before the eucharist. This is the objection: and a very strange one it must needs be to him that shall consider, 1. That our Saviour speaketh in the future tense to the woman of Samaria, where yet the expression is acknowledged to be figurative, and the meaning of it to be believing: "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him (*δῶσω*) shall be in him a well," &c. Now would not this be rare arguing: Our Lord says, "I will give water;" therefore he promised something that he had never given before; therefore spiritual drinking, or believing, is not meant, because the patriarchs believed of old, therefore the promise is to be taken literally and properly? And yet this is that very argument to prove the literal sense in this verse. But then, 2. Our Lord speaks of the necessity of present eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, in the 53rd and 54th verses. And therefore the argument from the future tense, to prove that he spake properly of the eucharist, is insufficient. 3. Supposing that all had been future, and that something was promised, more than had been formally given; yet it follows not that Christ spake properly of the eucharist, much less of giving his flesh properly to be eaten there. For although the Fathers believed of old, yet the doctrine of the passion was never clearly understood by the faithful before our Saviour's time, no, nor as yet by his own disciples. Our Saviour did now and then mention it, and here he gave them some intimations of it, which they understood not then so well as they did afterwards. (See note on ver. 53.) Himself said to them, "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things that ye have seen, and have not seen them; and to hear those things that ye hear, and have not heard them," Matth. xiii. 17. And yet his disciples hitherto had attained to a very imperfect knowledge of Christianity, to what they had afterwards. Although therefore the good men of old were justified by faith, and saw the promises afar off, and had some general intimations of the Gospel; yet whether the particular objects of our faith were not a new thing worthy of Christ's promise, I leave indifferent men to judge.

Lastly, It has been said, that the natural flesh of Christ was to be given or offered upon the cross substantially or properly for the life of the world, and therefore the same flesh was to be given with the same propriety, to be bread for us, and to be eaten by us, *viz.* in the eucharist. To which I answer, 1. as before, That this arguing will conclude more than they desire who urge it. For if the former clause is to be understood in the same strictness and propriety of words with the latter clause, then the

flesh of Christ was to become bread properly. For he said, "The bread which I will give is my flesh." But, 2. It is much more reasonable to understand the giving of his flesh to be bread, according to the meaning of this kind of expressions throughout the whole discourse: and our adversaries do acknowledge, that those passages, "I am the bread of life;" "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever;" that is, all of this kind from verse 32, to this very clause in verse 51, are to be understood of spiritual eating, *i.e.* of believing. Since therefore our Saviour gave no manner of intimation that he changed his style, there is more reason to interpret those words, of giving his flesh to be bread, and of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, in a sense agreeable to that wherein eating Him is to be understood all along before, than to understand them properly, that is to say, of bodily eating; although it is the flesh of Christ which is given to be eaten, that flesh which was substantially and properly given for the life of the world.

52. *The Jews therefore strove among themselves, saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat?*

52. Upon this the Jews disputed against him afresh, the greater part of them taking his last words in a gross sense, as if he had promised to give them his flesh to eat with their teeth, and to swallow it down their throats, as their forefathers had eaten manna, and as they had eaten in the wilderness the day before. And upon this advantage which they thought they had against him, they exclaimed as if he had spoken absurdly and inhumanly, and taught his disciples to devour man's flesh.

53. *Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.*

53. But notwithstanding this perverse construction of his words, Jesus did not think fit to deliver his meaning in such proper expressions as might avoid all the cavils of these unreasonable men, but deferring for a while a further explication of himself, he vehemently repeated his doctrine, under such expressions and figurative speeches, as they had hitherto given him just occasion to use; only to signify that he was to die a violent and bloody death for the salvation of mankind: to that expression of eating his flesh, he added another, of drinking his blood; affirming, that except they did this, they must not expect eternal life. As if he had said, "Except ye believe the merit of that sacrifice which I shall offer for the sins of the world, and own me for your

Saviour in dying, a painful and ignominious death for your sakes, and learn charity, and patience, and humility, and resignation to the will of God, by my sufferings, ye have not spiritual, nor shall have eternal life.”

Ver. 53. If it be asked, why our Saviour still persisted in a figurative and allusive way of expression, although he saw their gross, and perhaps wilful mistake of his former words? (ver. 52.) It may be answered, That he knew good reason for it, though the reason be not left upon record. However, a probable conjecture ought to suffice in such a case as this, where the objection is, that no account can be given of it. I answer therefore, that our Lord did not think fit to foretel the ignominious death he was to suffer upon the cross, so publicly as he foretold his resurrection. Sometimes he told his disciples that he was to suffer, and be killed (Matth. xvi. 21); but to others he intimated it obscurely, with intention that they might afterwards remember what he said, rather than that they should understand it presently. But neither to the multitude, nor to his disciples, did he clearly signify the reasons and ends of his passion; this seeming to be one of those things that they could not bear now, but which the Comforter should reveal to them afterward. It may therefore be said, that our Lord did not deliver the doctrine concerning the death he was to suffer, and the blessed fruits thereof to all believers, in such like plain words and expressions, as I have endeavoured to use in the Paraphrase, because he used to conceal the former from the people, and reserve the clear manifestation of the latter, till after his resurrection and ascension, when these sayings would be brought to remembrance, and better understood than they were at first. But one may ask, Why did he not at least tell these men, that these were still but expressions of spiritual things, by way of allusion to things sensible? To which I answer, That he did thus explain himself to his disciples presently after, and that upon occasion of this gross mistake (see ver. 62, 63), and nothing appears to the contrary, but that this explication was made in the synagogue, in the hearing of all. But whether it was so or not, it is sufficient for us that he explained himself as he did to the disciples.

In the mean time, Cardinal Cajetan's argument, that this place cannot be understood of the eucharist, because then it would infer a necessity of the people's receiving the cup, is an argument *ad homines*, plain and strong. Neither is it to be avoided, by pretending that Christ does not speak of the species of either bread or wine, but of the things contained under them; and therefore, that because whole Christ is contained under one kind, the condition of eternal life is fulfilled, by receiving him under either kind: for they that receive him under the species of a wafer, or a morsel of bread only, which is to be eaten, cannot with any modesty be said to drink his blood; which is yet made as necessary as eating his flesh. We grant, that eating and drinking being taken as figurative expressions, do signify the same thing, *viz.* believing; and we say, that believing, when it is expressed by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, refers to that particular object of faith, the death of Christ, signified by the separate mention of his body and blood. But eating and drinking being taken

properly, do not signify the same thing. If therefore our Saviour is to be understood properly, of receiving him in the eucharist, by eating his flesh and drinking his blood : the words are plain, beyond all dispute, that he is to be received by drinking his blood there, as well as by eating his flesh ; which since the Church of Rome denies to the laity, the Cardinal had good reason not to understand these words of the eucharist, being concerned, as he was, to make the best of all those usages which he found in his Church. And yet I doubt this great man had not quite delivered that Church from all the reproof this very text has for their half-communion. For although these words are not to be understood properly of the eucharist ; yet, I think, what Grotius says, cannot be reasonably denied, *viz.* that here is a tacit allusion to the eucharist. And if that be true, the text even thus taken, will condemn their withholding the cup from the laity. For the allusion must consist in this, that, as according to the institution of the eucharist, the holy bread, and cup, were separately taken to shew forth the violent death of Christ ; so in these words of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, the believing of his meritorious death, and following the example of his patience, &c. is expressed by the separate mention of his flesh and blood, and therefore of eating the one, and drinking the other. Which allusion is so apt, that I should not wonder, if it inclines those that inquire no further, to believe that our Saviour here speaks of the eucharist. But since the separate taking of the holy bread and the holy cup in the eucharist on the one side, and the separate mention of his flesh and blood on the other, is that in which the allusion consists, it is utterly destroyed by the pretended concomitance, *i. e.* by giving the body and blood, not as separated, but as united ; or by giving the body and blood to be eaten ; not the flesh to be eaten, and the blood to be drunk. In short, as our Saviour did sacramentally represent his death, by taking the holy bread, and the holy cup, separately, and giving them separately ; so he did in words, alluding to that sacrament, represent the same death, *i. e.* by the distinct mention of his flesh and his blood ; and he represented also the necessity of faith in his death, under the distinct expressions of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood. And therefore they who in the eucharist pretend to give both kinds in one, destroy the reason why these words allude to the eucharist. But if they say, that our Saviour here speaks properly of the eucharist, nothing can be more evident, than that they openly condemn themselves, in denying that to the people, which, as they say, he required in proper and express terms, and that is, the drinking of his blood.

And in truth, they destroy the significancy of the sacrament, which is no otherwise a representation of our Lord's death, than as it represents the separation of his flesh and blood. And then I desire them to tell me, how they can be said to commemorate the death of Christ, by receiving a sacrament that shews forth the separation of his body and blood, who do not receive them separated, but united ? St. Paul, concluding the end of the sacrament, from the institution of it, said, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come." The reason whereof is exceeding plain, *viz.* because the separation of the blood from the body, is shewn by the distinct taking of the bread and the cup, to eat the one, and drink the other. But this reason is so confounded by the half-communion, and the doctrine of concomitance, that the institution is not only contradicted, but, I fear, the sacrament is denied

to them that receive one kind only ; and that they have not so much as a half-communion, inasmuch as they do not receive a sacrament that shews the death of Christ.

54. *Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day.*

54. "But he that is so far from rejecting me, and being offended at me, because of that painful death which I am to suffer, that he doth, on the other hand, receive all that divine instruction which it does afford, and turns it into spiritual nourishment, by learning the high displeasure of God against sin ; and his infinite love to mankind ; and the vanity of this world, and the worth of his own soul, and the necessity of repentance, and of a godly life ; my death shall be to him a means of that eternal life, to which I shall raise him at the last day ; and this as certainly, as if he were now in actual possession of it."

Ver. 54. Because our Lord continues in his speech to make a separate mention of his flesh and blood ; it follows, that he still speaks of his death, and the particular doctrine concerning his death, which would be entertained with the greatest difficulty, *viz.* that he was a sacrifice for the sins of the world ; and therefore a Saviour, because crucified, &c. The lively belief whereof is that which our Lord means by eating his flesh, and drinking his blood ; and not eating and drinking the sacrament of his body and blood ; which a man may do to his condemnation. And therefore, although St. Austin sometimes understood these words of the eucharist, yet he did not so understand them, as if every one who partakes of the eucharist, does also eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ ; for he manifestly denied that the wicked were partakers of the very body of Christ, though they partook of the sacrament of his body : and yet it is impossible but they must do the one as well as the other, if it be true, that the proper substance of the body of Christ is in the sacrament, as the Church of Rome pretends. And by consequence, if this corporeal eating be intended, it seems clearly to follow, that no man who partakes of the eucharist can be damned ; which is certainly very false, and therefore corporeal eating cannot be meant here, but only spiritual eating. And so St. Austin understood it, although he applied these words sometimes to the eucharist, inasmuch as he denied that the wicked do eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, although with their mouths they take the sacrament of his body and blood. But because this spiritual eating, which is necessary to salvation, is by no means confined to the participation of the eucharist ; and because many do not partake spiritually in the body and blood of Christ, that yet do partake of the sacrament, I cannot understand why our Saviour should speak here directly and properly of the eucharist ; and therefore I adhere to the sense of those Fathers who interpret this place, and those that follow, of spiritual actions only.

55. *For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.*

55. "So that the doctrine concerning my sufferings and death, which will give the greatest offence to unbelievers, is the most excellent meat and drink, because it is the food of souls, when it is received with a firm and efficacious faith; and will secure also the resurrection of the body to everlasting life."

Ver. 55. He continues to distinguish the flesh from the blood, and therefore still speaks of his passion, giving some kind of pre-eminence to faith in his death, above the belief of other particular doctrines, though that would be admitted with greatest difficulty.

56. *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

56. "And therefore he that believeth my death to be a sacrifice for the sins of the world, and does thereby learn that duty which it teacheth, and receive that comfort which it affordeth, he will love me, and devote himself entirely to my service, because I have thus humbled myself; though that be the reason for which such as you will be violently prejudiced against me. And on the other side, he shall be peculiarly beloved and cared for by me: for though in love to mankind I am to be made an offering for sin, yet it is a particular care I shall express towards those who have a true sense of my sufferings in their behalf, who make a right use of them, and return that thankfulness and obedience which their faith requires." (1 Tim. iv. 10.)

Ver. 56. His pursuance of the same expression, still shews that he speaks of the same thing, *viz.* believing his death to be a sacrifice, &c. And here he intimates, that his sufferings, which would be a stumbling-block to unbelievers, would be an effectual engagement to all good men to love him; and that their fervent love, and humble gratitude, would be rewarded with his especial love. For as God's dwelling in men, signifies his gracious presence amongst them, and his delight in doing them good; so their dwelling in him, signifies their love to him, and constant attendance upon the doing of his will, and the delight they have in knowing themselves to be always in his presence.

57. *As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he*

57. "And one remarkable expression (and that of weight enough to make you consider what I say) of my peculiar love to every such believer, is what I have told you already, and I do earnestly repeat it again:

that eateth me, even he shall live by me. as sure as the Father who sent me will raise me from the dead ; so surely will I raise up every one to everlasting life that believeth my doctrine, and liveth by his faith."

Ver. 57. Here our Lord seems to leave the special consideration of his sufferings and death, and to speak now of his whole doctrine, as he had done before ; for as by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, we are to understand believing the merit and instruction of his death, &c. so by eating him, we are taught before (ver. 35, 47, 50) to understand believing him in general, that is, believing all his doctrine.

58. *This is that bread which came down from heaven ; not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.* 58. "Mark therefore what I said to you (ver. 33, 35) at first, that I am that true bread from heaven, wherewith the manna that your fathers eat, and the bread which you eat yesterday, are not to be compared ; for they were good for nothing but to preserve a mortal life for a short time ; whereas he that feedeth upon the word and doctrine which God hath sent you from heaven, shall be raised from the dead, to ascend thither, and to live there for ever."

Ver. 58. Here he concludes all, with returning to the same thing, and using the very expressions that he began withal (ver. 32, 35, 50), than which we need not a clearer proof, that he all along spake in the same style, and in those expressions of eating and drinking, perpetually alluded to the manna and the loaves in the wilderness ; which gave occasion to all this discourse.

59. *These things said he in the synagogue, as he taught in Capernaum.* 59. These things he said publicly in the synagogue at Capernaum, where the people, whom he had fed in the wilderness, found him (ver. 24, 25), and gave him the occasion of discoursing in this manner, by following him for the loaves (ver. 26), and (when they found themselves disappointed) by setting the manna which Moses gave their fathers against the feeding so many thousands the day before (ver. 31). And the great end of his discourse upon this occasion, was, to draw their mind from worldly to heavenly things, and to make them more desirous of the spiritual and heavenly benefits of his miracles, than of the bodily relief which they had found by them.

60. *Many therefore of his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying; who can hear it?*

61. *When Jesus knew in himself that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you?*

62. *What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?*

63. *It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.*

60. But because he expressed his mind in this figurative way, and was by many understood, as if he had commended to them the eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood, in the literal sense; therefore many, even of those that had for some time followed him, talked amongst themselves, as if these sayings of their Master must needs be offensive to the ears of all persons that had a sense of humanity; and as for themselves, that they knew not what to make of them.

61. Neither did they desire him to explain himself further; but he, by his divine spirit, knowing what they muttered amongst themselves, applied himself to them in particular, and upbraided them in this manner for taking so unreasonable an offence against him.

62. "When you shall see me ascend up to heaven, it will not seem strange that I came down from thence; and because even then it will remain necessary that you should eat my flesh and drink my blood, you may be sure I do not mean that gross feeding upon my flesh, and drinking my blood, in which you understand what I have said; for my body will then be too far removed from the conversation of mortal men, to be capable of being so used.

63. "No; when I speak to you of the conditions of obtaining everlasting life, though I have now expressed them by eating my flesh and drinking my blood; yet you had reason to understand me of spiritual actions, which do indeed tend to the bettering of the inward man. For they are such things only that feed the soul, and can preserve it to eternal life: but to this purpose the flesh profiteth nothing; no, not my own flesh, if you should eat it as grossly as you understand my sayings: for even this would be but bodily nourishment, but would have no influence upon the mind.

But if you would know what those things are that better the soul (and it is my business to call you off from that solicitous care you take of your mortal bodies, to mind your souls, and to provide for a blessed resurrection): if, I say, you would know what things are proper for the improvement of the mind, they are the words that I speak unto you, they are those precepts of a heavenly life, and those promises of eternal life which I have laid before you; that faith which I require you to have in my death, and that example of doctrine, charity, and humility, which I require you to follow. These are the spiritual means of renewing your minds, and therefore means also of fitting you for eternal life.

Ver. 61, 62, 63. Our Lord perceiving how grossly the Jews and some of his own disciples understood those expressions, of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, did upon this occasion explain his own meaning as fully as he did to Nicodemus in the point of regeneration. For Nicodemus having said, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." Which was as much as to say, "The flesh profiteth nothing, (as here, ver. 63). And if you were, by a strange miracle, to be born again the natural way, by this fleshly birth you would come again but into a mortal life; but that fleshly birth would not avail you for everlasting life." In the very same manner our Saviour repeated, in this chapter, those sayings which the Jews, and some of his own disciples, were offended at; and in the same manner he explained them afterwards, "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." Which being compared with the answer to Nicodemus, now mentioned and explained; by the light that answer affords, can yield no other meaning, than that which I have expressed in the Paraphrase.

As for the 62nd verse, it might be intended as an answer to that particular exception against him, mentioned verse 42, that he was the son of Joseph, and could not therefore reasonably pretend to come down from heaven: to which, if our Lord referred, his words are a proper answer, *viz.* that when they should see him ascend into heaven, they would no longer doubt of the truth of his coming from thence. But I rather think those words refer to that great offence which some of his own disciples took against him, that he should speak of their eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood: for they were his disciples only that saw him ascend. And when they should know that he was in heaven, they could not, without

great stupidity, think that he would give them his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, in that gross sense wherein they understood him. However, I have put both these interpretations into the Paraphrase.

64. *But there are some of you that believe not. For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him.*

64. "But no wonder that you wrest my sayings to so absurd a sense as you do; for there are some amongst you that dislike my doctrine, and are grown weary of following me, and wait for an opportunity to leave me." For as soon as any man professed himself his disciple, Jesus knew how he stood affected towards him. And he did not only know who of the multitude that followed him would revolt, but likewise which of his Apostles would betray him. See ver. 36.

65. *And he said, Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given unto him of my Father.*

65. And Jesus added, "Because I knew that there were some such amongst you, therefore I thought fit to tell you before (ver. 37, 39, 44), that my doctrine would never be heartily entertained by any but those whom God had prepared for it, by enduing them with a mind willing to learn, and with a prevailing desire of obtaining God's favour, and eternal life."

66. *From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.*

66. Upon this close application of his doctrine to the consciences of those insincere disciples of his; they finding themselves discovered, and that it was to no purpose to dissemble, resolved to pretend themselves his disciples no longer, and went off from him without more ado.

67. *Then said Jesus unto the twelve, Will ye also go away?*

67. Jesus seeing them turn their backs upon him, took this occasion, both to shew that some of his disciples were sincere, and that he cared not to be followed by any but those that were willing; and therefore he said to the twelve, You see I do not compel men to follow me, but that I let them depart if they will go. Now what say you? Will ye still continue my disciples, or follow the example of these men, and go away?

68. *Then Simon Peter an-*

68. Whereupon Peter (who was still the most forward speaker in his Master's cause)

swered him, Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. answered for himself and the rest: Lord, our greatest concern is to attain eternal life; and there is none other but thyself who can guide us to it. And we understand, that those very sayings of thine, with which these men were so unreasonably offended, do shew us the necessity of believing thy words and doctrine (as thou didst now tell them) (ver. 63), that we may live for ever.

Ver. 68. "Thou hast the words of eternal life." This saying of St. Peter confirms the interpretation I have given of ver. 63. For here he seems plainly to repeat our Lord's sense almost in the same words; "the words that I speak unto you, they are life;" or, the words of eternal life: as if St. Peter had said, We do not understand thee in that gross and absurd sense to which these men have perverted thy sayings; for we perceive that thou speakest of those doctrines and revelations by which we are to be guided to eternal life. But if St. Peter had understood our Saviour in that sense wherein the unbelieving Jews and his revolted disciples understood him, St. Peter's answer would surely have been to this purpose: Whatever appearance there is of inhumanity and contradiction, in giving thy flesh to be eaten, and thy blood to be drunk, for the life of the world; yet we believe that we shall eat thy natural flesh, and drink, &c. because thou hast said it: for though this hard saying staggered those men that are gone off, yet it does not stagger us at all. This had been a confession of faith suitable to the occasion, and to the spirit of St. Peter, if he had understood our Saviour as the Jews did. At least he would have used those very expressions which our Saviour used when the Jews took offence; *i. e.* he would have said, To whom should we go but to thee, who wilt give us thy flesh to eat, and thy blood to drink, that we may have eternal life? But when he rather chose to confess his faith in the explanatory words, ver. 63, "Thou hast the words of eternal life;" I think a reasonable man must acknowledge, that St. Peter did not understand our Saviour's expressions as the perverse Jews understood them.

69. *And we believe and are sure that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God.* 69. And we have already arrived to this faith, by seeing thy mighty works, and hearing thy divine doctrines; for by these testimonies we are convinced, beyond all doubt, that thou art the promised Messias; and whereas these men called thee the Son of Joseph, we assuredly believe that thou art the Son of that God who giveth life to all, and wilt give eternal life to all that believe in thee. And to this answer of Peter's all the rest assented.

Ver. 69. And St. Peter having thus shewed plainly enough what he understood by the flesh and blood of Jesus, *viz.* his doctrine, or words of

eternal life ; he shews as plainly in this verse what he and the rest understood by eating, *viz.* believing, as Jesus himself had explained it before, verse 47. Therefore, says he, “ And we believe and are sure,” &c. So that by what St. Peter said upon this occasion, it appears sufficiently, that if Jesus had meant the literal and gross sense, the Jews and the disciples that forsook him understood him aright ; and Peter, and the rest of the apostles and disciples that staid, mistook him ; which is certain they did not, because our Saviour approved what St. Peter said in the name of all the rest. And in the interpretation of our Saviour’s words, it is, I believe, more safe to follow St. Peter, with the approbation of our Saviour, than to follow any of his successors without it.

70. *Jesus answered them, Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil ?*

70. But this being spoken in the name of all, Jesus, to shew that he as well understood the hearts of his twelve apostles, as he did of the multitude of his disciples (ver. 64), answered them to this purpose : What one of you hath said in behalf of all, is true of all but one. I have indeed chosen you twelve before all my other disciples, to be my chief companions and ministers ; but there is one of you who already hates me, and is treacherously bent to do me mischief.

71. *He spake of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon : for he it was that should betray him, being one of the twelve.*

71. Though he did not mention Judas the traitor, yet he meant him, and not any other of the apostles.

THE CONCLUSION.

AND now I heartily beseech all into whose hands these papers may chance to come, not to think that this chapter is to be done withal, when they are once satisfied what our Lord’s meaning was in those expressions of “ eating him,” and the like ; but that they would please to attend to the reason and end of these and such kind of sayings ; which will convince them, I doubt not, that this excellent chapter is fit to be thought of, and laid to heart every day they live.

Great pity it is, that this portion of God’s word also should come to be a bone of contention ; which was designed to beget

and improve in the disciples of Jesus, a spirit of true wisdom and piety, and to establish them in a holy life.

That which our Lord principally aimed at in all this discourse, was, to make his hearers concerned in good earnest for their eternal state, which will at first sight appear to any man that mindeth how often those sayings return, of “everlasting life,” and “living for ever,” and being “raised up at the last day.” Now this indeed seemed to be his great design in almost all his sermons and applications to the people; from whence we may gather this profitable instruction, that men were more or less prepared to receive the truth as it is in Jesus, according as they were more or less affected with the end of his coming into the world, which was to bring them to everlasting life.

But in this chapter, and in some others, there is a peculiar instruction tending to this purpose, which we ought all of us very frequently to consider, not slighting it, because it is very plain, but making much of it, both because it is very useful, and strongly suggested by our Lord himself. And it is in short this, that the care we are at, and the pains we take for the welfare of this short life, should awaken in us a greater care and concern for our everlasting welfare: and that we who are so thoughtful and diligent in pursuing our temporal interests, should be ashamed, and count ourselves reproved by our worldly cares, if we are not much more careful to work out our salvation. This was the method our Lord took to bring those people to wisdom; and therefore he represented to them the means and conditions of everlasting life, under the names of those things which their hearts had hitherto been most set upon, *i. e.* bread, and eating, and drinking. For these were the men that had been fed by him the day before; and now they followed him for the loaves, that is, in hope to reap such bodily advantages as these from him every day. But to bring them to some sense of better things, and to lead them towards a due esteem of that end for which he came into the world, he proceeds in his admonitions, by calling the spiritual benefits which he had in store for them, bread, and food; and their receiving those benefits, eating and drinking; ever and anon letting them know, that if they eat and drank of that food which he came to give them, they should live for ever. And what was the instruction of this way of discoursing to them, but that if the bodily food, for which they were so solicitous, were a valuable enjoyment, which yet would serve but for the prolonging of a mortal life, how ought they to hunger and thirst for the meat which would

preserve them for ever? And therefore when he came, in the same way of speaking, to intimate to them those benefits of his passion, which they would better understand afterwards than they could at present, he told them, “My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;” as if he had told them in plainer words than he thought fit to use at that time: “It is infinitely more profitable to enjoy the fruits of my sufferings and death, by being reconciled to God, by forbearing to provoke his justice, and by following my example, than if I should take the same care of you as long as I live which I did yesterday, when I fed your bodies by a miracle.”

And this indeed seemed to be our Saviour’s great design in preaching the necessity of faith and repentance, and a godly life to the people, under so many figurative expressions as we find he used, *viz.* to lead them by temporal things to the care of things eternal, and to raise their minds from earth to heaven by a most familiar and convincing way of arguing with them, from earthly things themselves. Therefore, if he found them valuing themselves upon their liberty, or careful for life, or labouring for wealth, or solicitous for food: he called himself sometimes, and sometimes his doctrine, and their receiving of it, liberty, life, and treasure, and meat, and drink, as occasion required; and this to let them understand, that there was a more real good to be found in faith and piety, than in these, or any other kind of worldly advantages; and that whatever reason they had to be concerned for these transitory enjoyments, they had much more to be careful in receiving as they ought those spiritual good things which he came to confer upon them.

If therefore we will suffer ourselves to be instructed by such passages as these are; most of us, I fear, may learn, from our concern about the things of this world, to be ashamed of our remissness in providing for a better: and all of us should learn to reflect very often upon matters of greater concernment, when we are engaged even in the honest designs of this life, and pursuing the lawful business thereof; and so we should in some measure preach to ourselves, as Christ once did to his hearers when he was upon earth.

And we should not think that the Jews only had need of this kind of instruction, who, I confess, had been educated under a law, that promised little else besides temporal advantages to those that observed it; but that we ourselves, who know the great blessings promised in the Gospel to be spiritual and eternal, stand in need also of such admonitions as these

are : for the cares of this world, and the love of its riches, and pleasures, and honours, are as apt to take hold of us, as they were of the Jews, if we do not take pains to affect ourselves deeply with that truth concerning another life, which our Lord Jesus hath revealed, and to the belief of which we have been educated in his Church. And if we have less prejudice against these doctrines than the Jews had, and yet are swallowed up with this world as much as they were, we are but the more inexcusable. So that undoubtedly the advantage we have over them should make us the more concerned to lay these things to heart ; because we are so much the more to blame, if knowing these things almost from our infancy, we do not practise accordingly.

Nay, when the profession of the true faith does bring in worldly advantages, there seems to be as much (if not more) reason to reflect in this manner upon ourselves, as when nothing was to be gotten by it in this world, but the loss of all things. We are then doubtless to remember, that the “ kingdom of Christ is not of this world,” and that the good things of this life are not the rewards which he hath promised ; but that by setting our hearts inordinately upon that worldly ease and profit which we enjoy by the profession of true Christianity, we are in the way of losing that fruit thereof which will last for ever, and the hope of which was all that our Lord used to invite men to become his disciples.

If we follow Christ for the loaves, we shall forsake him when we find ourselves disappointed, as the Jews at Capernaum did, and take occasions and pretences so to do as easily as they and some of his own disciples found them. For we are not to think, that that saying, “ Except ye eat the flesh,” &c., was the true cause of their going off from him, but only such a plausible occasion as they had a good while waited for. The reason of their offence at the bottom, was, that they had long since perceived our Saviour was not likely to satisfy their worldly expectations, and they did not believe it worth their while to follow him for a reward in another life ; which prejudice against him had destroyed all their faith, as he told them himself, “ There are some among you that believe not,” ver. 64. They were those that said, ver. 60, “ This is an hard saying, who can hear it ? ” For it is not said, that *all*, but only, “ *Many* of his disciples when they had heard this, said, This is an hard,” &c., *viz.* those very men of whom he said, “ But there are some among you that believe not,” ver. 64, *i. e.* who had

followed him for worldly advantages, as the Jews did from the wilderness to Capernaum: of whom our Lord said the same thing, *viz.* that “they believed not,” ver. 36. For though but the day before they had acknowledged him to be the Prophet that was to come into the world; yet finding that he was likely to disappoint their worldly hopes, they presently changed their opinion of him. So that a sincere aim at everlasting life is very necessary even towards a constant belief and profession of the faith.

And much more to a practice answerable to it; which will, as I said before, be advanced not a little, if we will use ourselves to consider what care we are at for these mortal bodies, and this worldly life; and what reason there is to be incomparably more concerned for a blessed resurrection to eternal life; which I make not the least doubt, is the great instruction we are to learn from these figurative discourses of our blessed Saviour. And if we constantly have it in our eye, it will not only render the *meaning* of this chapter very plain, but the *reading* of it, if we should read it every day we live, very useful to us.

And indeed, those parts of God’s word which are purposely designed to work in us a deep concern for everlasting life, ought to be very present to our minds, and to dwell richly in us, that we may be always well provided to resist the temptations of the world. For which reason we should often think of those lessons of our Saviour: “Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth,” &c. And, “Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell: yea, I say unto you, fear him.” And that in this chapter; “Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth to everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you.”

Which rules seeming at first sight to discharge us of all care for our life and welfare in this world, St. Chrysostom thought it needful to observe upon the last of them, that our Lord did not intend to countenance laziness, who himself said, “It is more blessed to give than to receive:” and that St. Paul admonisheth a man to “work with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.” But since these exhortations run, as if we were to be absolutely

unconcerned about this life, no question but that care of eternal life is prescribed, in comparison to which our cares for this world should seem nothing at all. Therefore when we desire our appointed food, we should think how much more it is our interest to "hunger and thirst after righteousness," and that "meat which endureth to everlasting life." And when we most of all feel the hopes and fears of things that go no farther than this world; we cannot entertain a better thought than this, that if we are so much concerned for this life, how careful ought we to be not to miss of eternal salvation?

Which kind of reflections are the more necessary for us, the more deeply we are engaged in this world. For we do not only "labour for the meat that perisheth," that is, for just enough to serve the necessities of life; but we would be at ease beside, and live in reasonable plenty, and enjoy what is convenient for the pleasure, as well as the sustenance of life; and they are very few that know when to make an end of multiplying riches, when once they are got into the way of increase. But are we thus concerned for an end of infinitely greater moment? Or rather, do not these very worldly cares reprove our negligence about better and greater things, while perhaps we do no more towards our salvation than to avoid the grossest sins of all, but take little thought how to "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ?"

The whole strain of our Saviour's discourse in this chapter naturally leads to such considerations as these: and if we mind them in good earnest, they will by the grace of God, moderate our affections and cares about this world in the first place; and then leave all that concern for present and transitory good things, which we cannot be without, as a perpetual admonition, to be much more thoughtful for our everlasting salvation, and to make it the greatest business of our lives, by prayers and good works, to lay up for ourselves treasure in heaven, and to lay the stress of our comfort whilst we are here, in the joyful hope of being raised up at the last day to live for ever. Amen.

A POSTSCRIPT.

Since these papers were almost printed off, I met with Dr. Godden's Sermon upon St. Peter's Day ; in which he endeavours, from some passages in this chapter, to infer the substantial change of the bread and wine in the eucharist into the body and blood of Christ : but upon the most impartial judgment that I can make of his performance, I do not find that he offers any colour of argument for his conclusion, which I have not prevented. And therefore, instead of stopping these papers for the sake of his sermon, I think it fair enough to say to him, and to the world, that I can see no reason obliging me to do it.

A FULL VIEW OF THE
DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH
RELATING TO
THE EUCHARIST:
WHOLLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF
THE PRESENT ROMAN CHURCH,
AND INCONSISTENT WITH THE BELIEF OF
TRANSUBSTANTIATION;
BEING

*A sufficient confutation of Consensus Veterum, Nubes Testium,
and other late collections of the Fathers, pretending the
contrary.*

A PREFACE TO THE READER.

THAT which is here offered to thy perusal, was occasioned by some late pamphlets,* that appeared much about the same time in print, pretending by a heap of testimonies from the Fathers to prove, as in some other doctrines, so particularly in that of the Corporeal Presence and Transubstantiation, that the ancient Church, and the present Roman, are at a good agreement.

It is very hard for us to believe this, and scarce credible that they themselves did so, when we see so much insincerity in their allegations; such deceit and contrived disguising the sense of the Fathers, in their translations; such late, uncertain, and supposititious writings cited by them, under the venerable names of ancient authors: when the way that Procrustes took, of stretching limbs, or chopping them off, to make all agree to his bed who were to be laid in it, is used to make the an-

* Succession of Church and Sacraments. Consensus Veterum. Nubes Testium.

cient and the present Church to agree, a consent thus procured can occasion but a short and a sorry triumph. Yet those performances have been cried up, and they are looked upon as storehouses and repositories, whence any champion of theirs who enters the lists may be furnished from the Fathers, either with what is necessary for his own defence, or the assailing of an adversary. The Representer, since that, made great use of them, in a brisk attack he made upon the Dublin Letter, though the success, I believe, did not answer his expectation. The convert of Putney's performance (who in his *Consensus Veterum*, made the largest show of Fathers on behalf of transubstantiation) has had a particular consideration given it, by his worthy Answerer:* and so all the other testimonies in the rest of them, that are of any seeming strength and moment, have received answers to them from other hands; particularly from the learned author of the Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared, Part I.

If any thing, after all, seems to be wanting on our part, it is this; that as our adversaries have made a show of Fathers (for I can give it no better name) pretended to countenance their doctrines of the corporeal presence and transubstantiation; so we also ought to have our collection of testimonies from the ancients, made faithfully and impartially, wherein their true sense in these matters may be clearly seen and viewed, and thereby their dissent from this Church appear plainly, in those things that either constitute this doctrine, or are necessary consequents of it. And this is that which I have undertaken in the following papers; wherein as the usefulness of the design has encouraged me to take some pains, so I shall think them well bestowed, if the reader will bring an honest and unprejudiced mind to the perusal of them, and suffer himself to be determined in his opinions concerning this controversy, according to the evidence of truth here offered for his conviction. If the differences (which the annexed contents of the chapters give an account of) are of such a nature, and stand at such a wide distance, that it is impossible ever to bring transubstantiation to shake hands with them as friends; and if the two Churches, the ancient and the present Roman, are really divided and disagreeing, as I pretend to have demonstrated, in those points, it will then, I hope, hereafter be ridiculous to talk confidently of a consent of Fathers, and of a cloud of witnesses on their side.

* *Veteres Vindicati.*

But if I am herein mistaken, I am so little tender of my reputation, compared with truth, that I heartily desire to be confuted and made a convert ; for I am conscious to myself of no false Fathers I have cited for true ones ; of no disguising or perverting their sense, by an ill translation of their words (which I have therefore set down in their own language), of no imposing upon the reader a sense of my own making, contrary to what I believe that they intended.

I have but one request more to make to the unknown author of a book, entitled Reason and Authority, &c. who, mentioning the Defence of the Dublin Letter* (for which I have some reason to be concerned), says, "That the authorities of the Fathers there urged are, as he conceives, in the sense of them, either mistaken or misapplied, and that he shall endeavour to reconcile them to other expressions of the Fathers, and to (that which he calls) the catholic doctrine of transubstantiation." I humbly desire, when he is about this reconciling work, and his hand is in, that he would go on to reconcile also the differences urged in the following papers. Which if he shall do to any purpose, I promise to return the compliments he has passed upon that Defender with interest, and to alter my present opinion of him, upon his performances in that book. Farewell.

CHAP. I.

THE FIRST DIFFERENCE.

The Church of Rome is forced to assert a continued series of miracles to justify her doctrine of Transubstantiation. But the Fathers never mention any miracles in the Eucharist, save only the effects of God's powerful grace, working great changes in us, and advancing the elements in the use of them thereunto, without changing their nature and substance.

To give the reader a view of what wonders are to be believed, according to what the Trent Council has decreed concerning Transubstantiation, we need go no further than to the Trent Catechism,† which tells us, there are "three most wonderful things, which the catholic faith, without any doubting,

* Pag. 119. † Ad Parochos, part. 2. num. 25. [p. 183. Par. 1831.]

believes and confesses are effected in this sacrament, by the words of consecration."

"1. That the true body of Christ, that same body which was born of the Virgin, and sits at the right hand of the Father, is contained in this sacrament.

"2. That no substance of the elements remains in it, though nothing may seem more strange and remote from our senses.

"3. What is easily collected from both, that the accidents, which are seen with our eyes, or are perceived by our other senses, are without any subject (in which they subsist) in a strange manner, not to be explained. So that all the accidents of bread and wine may be seen, which yet inhere in no substance, but subsist by themselves, since the substance of the bread and wine are so changed into the very body and blood of our Lord, that the substance of bread and wine cease wholly to be."

But others of the Romish writers have made a larger and more particular enumeration of the miracles, wrought in the eucharist, which no created power can effect, but God's omnipotency alone. I will give them in the words of the Jesuit Pererius,* who reckons these nine distinct miracles.

"1. The same Christ remaining in heaven, not departing thence, and without any local mutation, is really and corporally in the sacrament of the eucharist.

"2. Nor is he thus there only in one consecrated host, but is together in all hosts consecrated throughout the whole earth.

"3. Though the body of Christ in the sacrament has all its quantity and colour, and other sensible qualities; yet as it is in the sacrament, it is neither there visibly nor quantitatively† as to its situs, and extension unto place.

"4. Though the body of Christ be in itself greater than a consecrated host, yet according to the (*esse*) being it has there, it is whole in that host; nor only whole in the whole consecrated host, but also whole in every part thereof.

"5. If those accidents of the consecrated host be corrupted, and it should happen that of them worms, or any other animal be generated, there is a great miracle in their generation: for either the *materia prima* is created anew, out of which the substantial form of those animals is produced, as many divines now think: or, according to St. Thomas, which seems to be a

* In Joan. c. 6. Disp. 16. num. 48.

† Quantum ad situm, et extensionem ejus ad locum.

greater miracle, the quantity that was of the consecrated host, supplies the place of the *materia prima*, and in it is produced the substantial form of those animals which are generated from thence.

“6. The very conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, which is properly called by divines transubstantiation, is a great miracle; for such a transmutation is found in no other thing, and is besides all the order and course of nature, and can be made by no created power, but by God’s omnipotency alone.

“7. The manner by which such transubstantiation is made, is not without a miracle; for it is made by the words of consecration, pronounced rightly, and as it ought, by a priest. Therefore, as naturally supposing the last disposition in matter to produce the form of fire, the form of fire is infallibly produced in that matter: so the words of consecration being pronounced by the priest, Christ himself is infallibly in that consecrated host.

“8. After consecration, the whole substance of bread and wine ceasing to be, yet their accidents do not cease, but remain: neither do they remain inhering in any other subject, but (*per se existunt*) exist by themselves, which is truly besides and above the nature of accidents, whose *esse* (as the Schools say) is *inesse*, because they can neither be produced nor remain naturally without a subject.

“9. Lastly, those accidents of the consecrated host, though without the substance of bread and wine, yet have the same natural virtue which bread and wine had before consecration; *viz.* the virtue of nourishing, increasing, and strengthening the body of the person that receives it; when yet nutrition is made by conversion of the substance of the food into the substance of the living creature.

“By reason of which miracles (he says) the Church sings thus in the hymn for Corpus Christi Day,

“Quod non capis, Quod non vides,
Animosa firmat fides, præter rerum ordinem:
Etsi sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum
Sola fides sufficit:
Præstat fides supplementum sensuum defectui.”

That is,

“What never yet was understood,
Nor ever seen by any creature,
A confident belief makes good,
Though cross to all the laws of nature.

“ Though sense will not be brought t’allow it,
 A heart sincere may be secure,
 And, waving all its scruples, sure,
 Since faith alone’s enough to do it ;
 For faith supplies the senses’ want,
 And makes good measure, where that’s scant.”

As for the Fathers, they are so far from consenting to this heap of miracles in the eucharist, that we have reason to think, as to some of them, they never entered into their thoughts, nor never troubled themselves about them ; and, for the most of them, though they are direct consequences of transubstantiation, yet they are opposed and contradicted by the Fathers, as shall be shewn in particulars afterwards : here it shall suffice to say in general, that the Fathers give us this as a character of the old heretics, to urge God’s omnipotency to countenance and give a colour to their figments and absurd opinions. Thus Gregory Nazianzen says of the Apollinarians,* that “ being pressed with these reasonings, they fly to this, that to God it is possible.” And Tertullian, when Praxeas also urged God’s omnipotency, gives this excellent answer to him :† “ If we may so abruptly use this sentence (*viz.* that to God all things are easy) in our presumptions, we may then feign any thing we please of God ; as if he had done a thing, because he was able to do it. But because God can do all things, we are not to believe he has done that which he has not done ; but we are to inquire, whether he has done it or no.”

Thus Gregory Nyssen asserts,‡ “ that the will of God is the measure of his power.” And Clemens of Alexandria,§ “ that God who is omnipotent, will effect nothing that is absurd.” And Origen,|| “ When we say that God can do all things, we

* Ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξαιργόμενοι τῶν λογισμῶν, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ, Δυνατὸν εἶναι Θεῷ. Orat. 51. [vol. 1. p. 743. Par. 1630.]

† Contr. Praxeam, c. 10. Si tam abruptè in præsumptionibus nostris hæc sententiâ utamur, quidvis de Deo confingere poterimus ; quasi fecerit, quia facere potuerit. Non autem quia omnia potest facere, ideo credendum est illum fecisse, etiam quod non fecerit ; sed an fecerit, requirendum. [p. 505. Par. 1695.]

‡ Gr. Nyssen in Hexaemeron. Μέτρον τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ Σέλημα γίνεσθαι. [vol. 1. p. 6. Par. 1638.]

§ Stromat. l. 4. propè finem. Ἀτοπα γὰρ οὐ συντελέσει ὁ Παντοκράτωρ. [p. 641. Venet. 1757.]

|| L. 5. contr. Cels. Οἶδαμεν ἀκούειν τοῦ Πᾶν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνυπάρκτων, οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδιανοήτων. [vol. 1. p. 595. Par. 1733.]

know how to understand all things, not of such things as cannot exist, and are unintelligible.”

Object. If any object, that the Fathers often bring in instances of God’s miraculous power (as St. Ambrose does in the Red Sea and the river Jordan, and in the miraculous conception of our Saviour, &c.) to create faith in men as to the great change that is wrought in the eucharist.

Answ. I answer, True indeed ; but then it is to be remembered (what shall hereafter be more fully declared) that the change there is not terminated upon the substance of the elements, nor is God’s power shewn upon them, to alter their nature from what they were before, so as to destroy them ; but it is an addition of grace to their nature, and an advancement of them to produce wonderful effects upon us in the use of them. So that now the element of water in baptism is no more a common thing, but is employed by God to wash away our sins, to cleanse our souls, and to regenerate and renew us : and in the eucharist the bread and wine, which in themselves are the food of our bodies, are advanced to be a means to communicate the body and blood of Christ to us, for the nourishing and refreshing our souls, and to make us partakers of the saving effects of his death and passion ; which are only miracles of God’s grace. And the Fathers urge the forementioned miracles in nature, to assure us of these wonders of divine grace. And this they do, not only in the case of the eucharist, but of baptism also ; where yet none assert any conversion of the substance of water into any other thing. Thus St. Ambrose :* “ Mary conceived by the Holy Ghost, without the intervention of any man, as St. Matthew tells us : ‘ she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.’ If then the Holy Spirit coming upon the Virgin made her to conceive, &c. we need not question but that the same Spirit coming upon the water of baptism, or on him that is baptized, does produce true regeneration.” And P. Leo Mag. :† “ Christ gave to the

* De iis qui initiantur, c. 9. ad finem. Si ergo superveniens Spiritus Sanctus in Virginem conceptionem operatus est, et generationis munus implevit ; Non utique dubitandum est, quod superveniens in fontem, vel super eum qui baptismum consequetur, veritatem regenerationis operetur. [vol. 2. p. 342. Par. 1690.]

† De Nativit. Dom. Ser. 4. Christus dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri : Virtus enim altissimi et obumbratio Spiritus Sancti, quæ fecit ut Maria pareret salvatorem, eadem facit ut regeneret unda credentem. [Ser. 5. vol. 1. p. 86. Venet. 1753.]

water, what he gave to his mother ; for the power of the Most High, and the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit, which caused Mary to bring forth our Saviour, the same causes the water to regenerate a believer." Excepting therefore these wonders of God's grace, the Fathers knew no other miracles in the sacraments ; and these wonders are common to both the sacraments, and not peculiar to one of them only.

This even Cardinal Cajetan was so sensible of, that he tells us,* "We must not dispute concerning God's power when we treat of sacraments." And again, "It is a foolish thing to assert in this argument, whatsoever God can do."

He was not ignorant of what St. Austin had said long before,† who speaking of signs taken to signify other things, and instancing in the bread taken and consumed in the sacrament, adds, "But because these things are known to men, as being made by men, they may have honour given them for their relation to religion ; but cannot raise astonishment, as miracles or wonders." Which he could never have said, if he had believed the wonders and miracles of transubstantiation.

I will conclude this head with another saying of his,‡ which may be as well applied to the absurd paradoxes and miracles which the Roman Church advances in this case of the eucharist, as ever it was to those he there confutes about baptism : "These are the prodigies of your opinions ; these are the uncouth mysteries of new dogmas ; these are the paradoxes of Pelagian heretics, more wonderful than those of the Stoic philosophers.—The things you say are wonderful, the things you say are new, the things you say are false. We are amazed at your wonders, we are cautious against your novelties, and we confute your falsities."

But this difference being more general, we go on to more particular ones.

* In 3. part. q. 75. art. 1. Non est disputandum de divina potentia, ubi de sacramentis tractatur. Ibid. art. 5. Stultum est ponere in hoc argumento, quicquid Deus potest facere.

† Lib. 3. de Trin. c. 10. Quia hæc hominibus nota sunt, quia per homines fiunt, honorem tanquam religiosa possunt habere, stuporem tanquam mira non possunt. [vol. 11. p. 66. Bassan. 1807.]

‡ Lib. 3. cont. Julian. c. 3. Hæc sunt sententiarum portenta ventrarum, hæc inopinata mysteria dogmatum novorum, hæc paradoxa Pelagianorum hæreticorum mirabiliora quam Stoicorum Philosophorum.—Mira sunt quæ dicitis, nova sunt quæ dicitis, falsa sunt quæ dicitis. Mira stupemus, nova cavemus, falsa convincimus. [Ibid. vol. 13. p. 688.]

CHAP. II.

THE SECOND DIFFERENCE.

The Church of Rome differs from the Fathers, in determining what that thing is which Christ calls MY BODY.

THE Trent Catechism,* though it does not determine what the word THIS refers to (only telling us, that it must demonstrate the whole substance of the thing present), yet it expressly denies that it refers to the substance of bread; for it adds, "If the substance of bread remained, it seems no way possible to be said, that THIS IS MY BODY." So Bellarmine confesses,† that this proposition, "this bread is my body," must be taken figuratively, that the bread is the body of Christ by way of signification, or else it is plainly absurd and impossible. And he acknowledges,‡ that this proposition, "the wine is the Lord's blood," teaches, that wine is blood by similitude and likeness. And elsewhere,§ "It cannot be a true proposition, in which the subject is supposed to be bread, and the predicate the body of Christ; for bread and Christ's body are *res diversissimæ*, things most different." And a little after, "If we might affirm *disparata de disparatis*, different things of one another, you might as well affirm and say, that something is nothing, and nothing something; that light is darkness, and darkness light; that Christ is Belial, and Belial Christ; neither does our faith oblige us to defend those things that evidently imply a contradiction."

So also Vasquez:|| "If the pronoun THIS in Christ's words pointed at the bread, then we confess it would follow, that no conversion could be made by virtue of these words, because the bread, of which it is affirmed (sc. that it is Christ's body) ought to remain."

Now that which the present Roman Church dare not affirm, because if it be taken properly, it is untrue, absurd, impossible, as implying a contradiction, we shall shew that the Fathers

* Ad Paroch. part. 2. n. 37. Sect. Hæc vero. Si panis substantia remaneret, nullo modo dici videretur, Hoc est Corpus meum. [p. 190. Par. 1831.]

† De Euchar. l. 1. c. 1. sec. Nonus. [vol. 3. p. 204. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

‡ Ib. lib. 2. cap. 9. Sect. Observandum. [Ibid. p. 263. col. 2.]

§ Lib. 3. cap. 19.

|| Disp. 180. cap. 9. n. 91. Si pronomen Hoc in illis verbis demonstraret panem, fatemur etiam fore, ut nulla conversio virtute illorum fieri possit, quia panis, de quo enunciatur, manere debet.

plainly affirm it, who yet could not be ignorant of this absurdity. From whence it necessarily follows, that they took the whole words (THIS IS MY BODY) figuratively, as the Protestants do, since they cannot be taken otherwise, if bread be affirmed to be Christ's body, as the Romanists confess. Now that the Fathers affirmed that bread is Christ's body, is certain by these following testimonies.

St. Irenæus :* "Our Lord confessed the cup which is of the creature to be his blood ; and the bread which is of the creature, he confirmed it to be his body."

Clement of Alexandria :† "Our Lord blessed the wine, saying, Take, drink, this is my blood, the blood of the grape. For the holy river of gladness (so he calls the wine) does allegorically signify the Word (*i. e.* the blood of the Word) shed for many for the remission of sins."

Tertullian :‡ "Calling bread his body." Speaking of Christ.

And against Marcion§ he says the same : "Calling bread his body, that thou mayest know that he gave to bread the figure of his body," &c.

And in the next book :|| "The bread that he took and distributed to his disciples, he made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body."

St. Cyprian :¶ "When our Lord called the bread, which is made up of many united grains, his body," &c.

Tatianus Syrus :** "Christ taking the bread, and after that the cup of wine, testified that they were his body and blood," &c.

* Adv. Hæres 1. 5. c. 2. Τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ποτήριον αἷμα ἴδιον ὡμολόγησε, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ κτίσεως ἄρτον ἴδιον σῶμα διαβεβαιώσατο. [vol. 1. p. 294. Venet. 1734.]

† Pædag. lib. 2. c. 2. Εὐλόγησέν γε τὸν οἶνον, εἰπὼν, Λάβετε, πίετε, τοῦτο μοῦ ἐστι τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχέμενον εἰς ἄφεισιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἁγίου ἡλληγόρει νᾶμα. [p. 186. Venet. 1757.]

‡ Adv. Judæos, c. 21. Panem corpus suum appellans. [c. 10. ut supra, p. 196.]

§ Idem adv. Marcion. lib. 3. cap. 19. Panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc eum intelligas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, &c. [Ibid. p. 408.]

|| Lib. 4. advers. Marc. c. 40. Acceptum panem et distributum Discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. [Ibid. p. 457, 458.]

¶ Epist. 76. ad Magnum. Quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, &c. [p. 318. Venet. 1728.]

** Harmon. in Bibl. Patrum, 1624. tom. 7. Accepto pane, deinde vini calice, corpus esse suum ac sanguinem testatus, &c. [Max. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. vol. 2. p. 210. col. 1. Lugd. 1677.]

Origen :* “That bread which our Lord confessed to be his body.”

Eusebius :† “Christ appointed them (or delivered to them) to make use of bread for a symbol of his body.”

Cyril of Jerusalem :‡ “When Christ affirms, and says of the bread, This is my body, who will dare to doubt further of it?”

St. Jerome :§ “Let us hear, that the bread which our Lord brake and gave to his disciples, is the body of our Saviour.” Which he explains further elsewhere :|| “That as Melchisedek prefiguring him had done, when he offered bread and wine, so he also represented the truth of his body and blood.”

St. Chrysostom :¶ “What is the bread? The body of Christ. What do they become that receive it? The body of Christ. Not many bodies, but one body.”

St. Austin :** “What your faith is to be instructed in, is, That the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ.”

And elsewhere :†† “Our Lord doubted not to affirm, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body.”

Gaudentius :‡‡ “When our Lord reached the consecrated bread and wine to his disciples, he said thus, This is my body.”

* Hom. 35. in Matth. Panis iste quem Dominus corpus suum esse fatetur. [vol. 3. p. 898. Par. 1740.]

† Demonstr. Evang. lib. 8. Ἄρτος δὲ χρῆσθαι, συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου.

‡ Catech. Mystag. 4. Αὐτοῦ ἀποφηνόμενου καὶ εἰπόντος περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τίς τολμήσει ἀμφιβάλλειν λοιπόν; [p. 320. Venet. 1763.]

§ Epist. ad Hedibiam. Nos audiamus panem quem fregit Dominus, deditque discipulis suis, esse corpus salvatoris, &c. [vol. 1. p. 818. Veron. 1734.]

|| Comm. in 26. Matt. Quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedek.—panem et vinum offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 216.]

¶ In 1 Cor. Hom. 24. Τί γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος; Σῶμα Χριστοῦ. Τί δὲ γίνονται οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες; Σῶμα Χριστοῦ. Οὐχὶ σώματα πολλὰ, ἀλλὰ σῶμα ἓν. [vol. 10. p. 250. Par. 1837.]

** Serm. ad recens baptizat. apud Fulgentium, Bedam, &c. Quod fides vestra postulat instruenda, Panis est corpus Christi, Calix sanguis Christi. [Serm. 272. vol. 5. p. 1614. Par. 1837.]

†† Contr. Adimantum, c. 12. Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 224.]

‡‡ In Exod. tract. 2. Cum panem consecratum et vinum discipulis suis porrigeret Dominus, sic ait, Hoc est corpus meum. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 5. p. 947. col. 2. Lugd. 1677.]

Cyril of Alexandria :* “ Christ, when he had broken the bread, as it is written, distributed it, saying, This is my body.”

Theophilus Antioch,† or the author under his name upon the Gospel, speaks just St. Cyprian’s language : “ When Jesus said, This is my body, he called the bread his body, which is made up of many grains, by which he would represent the people,” &c.

Theodoret :‡ “ In the delivery of the mysteries, he called the bread his body, and that which is mixed (wine and water in the cup) blood.—And afterwards, he honoured the visible symbols with the appellation of his body and blood,” &c.

Facundus Hermian :§ “ Our Lord himself called the blessed bread and cup which he delivered to his disciples, his body and blood.”

Maxentius,|| speaking of the Church, that is called Christ’s body, adds, “ also the bread, which the whole Church partakes of in memory of the Lord’s passion, is his body.”

Isidore of Seville says,¶ “ We call this, by his command, the body and blood of Christ, which being made of the fruits of the earth, is sanctified and made a sacrament, by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God.”

Bede :** “ Christ said to his disciples, This is my body, &c. because bread strengthens the body, and wine produces blood in the flesh ; this relates mystically to Christ’s body, and that to his blood.”

The seventh General Council at Constantinople,†† after

* In Joan. 20. 26, 27. Διακλάσας τὸν ἄρτον, καθ’ ὃ γέγραπται, διεδίδου, λέγων, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, &c. [vol. 4. p. 1105. Lut. 1638.]

† Com. in Matth. 26.

‡ In Dialog. 1. Ἐν δὲ γε τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει, σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε, καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα. Τὰ ὀρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, &c. [vol. 4. p. 26. Hal. 1733.]

§ In Defens. 3. capit. lib. 9. c. ult. Ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit.

|| Dialog. 2. c. 13. Sed est panis ille, quem universa Ecclesia in memoriam Dominicæ passionis participat, corpus ejus.

¶ Origenus, lib. 6. cap. 19. Hoc, eo jubente, corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus, quod dum fit ex fructibus terræ, sanctificatur et fit sacramentum, operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei. [p. 52. col. 1. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

** Comm. in Marc. 14.—Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mysticè, illud refertur ad sanguinem.

†† Extat in Conc. Nicen. 2. Art. 6. Ἴδον οὖν ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐντίμως καὶ τετιμημένως πραττομένη. Τὸν τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄρτον, ὡς ἀψευδῇ εἰκόνα τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς, διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσεως ἀγιαζόμενον, θεῖον σῶμα εὐδόκησε γίνεσθαι. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 7. p. 446, 447, Lut. Par. 1671.]

ceiting the words of the institution, "This is my body," after his taking, and blessing and breaking it, adds, "Behold the image of his life-giving body made precious and honourably." And afterwards, "It pleased him that the bread of the sacrament, being the true figure of his natural flesh, should be made a divine body, being sanctified by the coming of the Holy Ghost upon it," &c.

Druthmarus :* "This is my body, that is to say, in a sacrament—Because among all things that are the food of life, bread and wine serve to strengthen and refresh our weaknesses, it is with great reason that he would in these two things establish the mystery of his sacrament. For wine both cheers us and increases blood, and therefore very fitly the blood of Christ is figured by it; because whatsoever comes to us from him, cheers us with true joy, and increaseth all good in us."

Rabanus Maurus,† explaining the words of institution, says, "Because bread strengthens the body, therefore it is fitly called the body of Christ; and wine, because it produces blood in our flesh, is therefore referred to the blood of Christ."

In the Æthiopic Churches‡ they use this phrase (which the Church of Rome is so shy of), "This bread is my body."

Bertram :§ "I am confident, no Christian doubts but that bread was made the body of Christ which he gave to his disciples, saying, This is my body," &c. and he there shews that this is made by the same change, whereby the manna and the water of the rock in the wilderness were turned into his body and blood.

To conclude this head: it is plain, that there is a general consent of Fathers on the Protestant side in this particular,

* Comm. in Matth. 26. Hoc est corpus meum; id est, in sacramento. —Quia inter omnes vitæ alimonias cibus panis et vinum valent ad confirmandam et recreandam nostram infirmitatem, recte per hæc duo mysterium sui sacramenti confirmare placuit. Vinum namque et lætificat et sanguinem augeat; et idcirco non inconvenienter sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur, quoniam quicquid nobis ab ipso venit lætificat lætitiâ verâ, et augeat omne bonum nostrum.

† Comm. in Matth. 26. Quia panis confirmat corpus, ideo corpus ille Christi congruenter nuncupatur, vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur.

‡ Ludolphi Æthiop. Hist. l. 3. c. 5. n. 56. Hic panis est corpus meum.

§ De Corp. et Sang. Dom. pag. 40. late Eng. et Lat. Translation. Non putamus ullum fidelium dubitare, panem illum fuisse corpus Christi effectum, quod Discipulis donans dicit, Hoc est corpus meum, &c. [p. 166. Lond. 1688.]

that the bread and wine are Christ's body and blood. And it is the more remarkable, because they give us this sense when they are explaining Christ's words, and in their commentaries upon the Gospels where the words of institution are recorded.

CHAP. III.

THE THIRD DIFFERENCE.

The Church of Rome believes, that accidents in the Eucharist subsist without a subject; but the Fathers say the contrary, that accidents cannot subsist without a subject, and yet never except the Eucharist.

THE Catechism of the Trent Council* says, "that the accidents which are either seen with our eyes, or perceived by our other senses, are without any subject, by a wonderful manner, and such as cannot be explained." They grant that we may see all the accidents of bread and wine, but that they inhere in no substance, but sustain themselves.—And afterwards discourse thus:† "The species of bread and wine subsist in this sacrament without any subject in which they are: for since the body and blood of Christ is truly in this sacrament, so that no substance of bread and wine remains, because those accidents cannot be inherent in the body and blood of Christ, it remains, that the accidents sustain themselves, above all order of nature, being upheld by nothing else besides." And this (they say) was the perpetual constant doctrine of the catholic Church.

How false this assertion is, we shall now shew from the testimonies of the Fathers.

Irenæus:‡ "We cannot understand water without moisture, nor fire without heat, nor a stone without hardness. For these are united one to another, one cannot be separated from the other, but must always co-exist."

* Ad Parochos, part. 2. de Euchar. n. 25. [p. 184. Par. 1831.]

† Ibid. n. 44. Sect. Tertium restat. [p. 193.]

‡ Lib. 2. c. 14. Non potest intelligi aqua sine humectatione, neque ignis sine calore, neque lapis sine duritia. Unita enim sunt invicem hæc; alterum ab altero separari non potest, sed semper coexistere. [ut supra, c. 12. p. 128.]

Athanasius* (or the author against the Arians, in his works) asserts, "that every quality is in a substance."

Isidore Peleusiota says,† "that quality cannot be without substance."

Methodius:‡ "Quality cannot be separated, as to its subsistence, from matter." And a little before he says, "This is the most impossible of all things."

St. Basil:§ "If by your reasoning you can distinguish figure from a body, yet nature admits no such difference, but one must be understood in conjunction with the other."

Gregory Nazianzen|| proves the Holy Ghost not to be a quality, because then it must be in a subject: "For," says he, "either it does subsist by itself, or is of the same kind with those which are called accidents, which are in another."

This would be ill reasoning if transubstantiation were true; for the Holy Ghost might be a quality, and yet be in no subject, as well as the colour and taste of bread may be in the eucharist, without bread or any other substance in which it is.

Gregory Nyssen affirms,¶ "That as that is not a body to which colour, and figure, and solidness, and space, and heaviness, and other properties are wanting; so," as he adds, "where those aforesaid do concur, they produce a bodily subsistence."

St. Austin:** "It is monstrous, and at the furthest distance from truth, that what would not be at all unless it were in a subject, yet should be able to exist when the subject ceases to be." This is a saying with a witness to confute transubstan-

* Orat. 5. contra Arianos. Πᾶσα ποιότης ἐν οὐσίᾳ ἐστί. [vol. 1. p. 303. Heidelb. 1601.]

† Lib. 2. Epist. 72. Ἡς (οὐσίας) μὴ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι τὴν ποιότητα. [p. 153. Par. 1638.]

‡ Apud Photium Codic. 232. Μὴ δύναται χωρίζεσθαι καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἢ ποιότης.—Ἐστὶν ἀπάντων ἀδύνατον. [Codic. 234.] [p. 928. Rothomag. 1653.]

§ Epist. 43. Ἀλλὰ κἄν λόγῳ διακρίνης τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος, ἢ φύσιν οὐκ ἀπαδέχεται τὴν διάκρισιν, ἀλλὰ συνημένως νοεῖται μεθ' ἑτέρου τὸ ἕτερον. [Epist. 38. vol. 3. p. 172. Par. 1839.]

|| Orat. 37. Ἡ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑφ' ἐστῆκότων πάντως ὑποβετέον, ἢ τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ θεωρουμένων ὧν τὸ μὲν οὐσίαν καλοῦσιν—τὸ δὲ συμβεβηκός. [vol. 1. p. 595. Par. 1630.]

¶ De Ofificio Homīn. c. 24. "Ὅπου δ' ἂν συνδράμῃ τὰ εἰρημένα, τὴν σωματικὴν ὑπόστασιν ἀπεργάζεται. [vol. 1. p. 108. Par. 1638.]

** Soliloq. lib. 2. c. 12. Monstruosum enim et à veritate alienissimum est, ut id quod non esset, nisi in ipso (sc. subjecto) esset, etiam, cum ipsum non fuerit, posse esse. [vol. 1. p. 632. Par. 1836.]

tiation, where there is the appearance and figure, taste and weight of bread, and yet no substance of bread is there. Again he says,* “Every thing that is in a subject, and always remains, it is necessary that the subject also should always remain.”

Again elsewhere:† “When the subject is changed, every thing that is in the subject is necessarily changed.” And again: “That which exists not by itself, if it be forsaken of that by which it exists, undoubtedly will not be at all.”

Also in another place:‡ “Take away bodies from their qualities, and there will nothing remain where (those qualities) should be; and therefore it follows necessarily, that they will not be at all.”

Cyril of Alexandria§ teaches the same copiously. He calls it madness to affirm, that the essence of the Son consists in subjection to the Father: “For,” says he, “how can subjection be conceived to subsist by itself, without existing in any thing else?” And afterwards: “If there be no subject, and nothing pre-exists in which those things are wont to be done, how can they exist by themselves, which are understood and defined in the order of accidents?”

And elsewhere he says: || “To be unbegotten, is predicated of the Divine essence, as inseparable from it; just as colour is always predicated of every body.”

And in another place, ¶ disputing about the eternity of the Son, and how, proceeding from the Father, he is not separated from him, he instances in accidents that are inseparable from

* Ibid. cap. 13. *Omne quod in subjecto est, si semper manet, ipsum etiam subjectum maneat semper necesse est.* [Ibid. p. 633.]

† De Immortal. Anim. cap. 5. [Ibid. p. 654.] *Mutato subjecto, omne quod in subjecto est necessario mutari.* Et cap. 8. [Ibid. p. 659.] *Quod per se non est, si deseratur ab eo per quod est, profectò non erit.*

‡ Epist. 57. ad Dardanum, *Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint.*

§ In Joan. lib. 4. cap. 1. *ὑποταγὴ γὰρ αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν πῶς ἂν ὑφίσταναι νοοῖτο, μὴ ἐννύαρχουσα τῶν ὄντων τινί. Πῶς ἂν εἰεν αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ, καίτοι κατὰ τὴν τῶν συμβεβηκότων τάξιν νοούμενά τε καὶ ὀριζόμενα.* [ut supra, p. 334, 336.]

|| Thesaur. assert. 31. *Τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἀγέννητον ὡς ἀχώριστον κατηγορηθήσεται, ὥσπερ αἰὲ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς σώματος χρώμα.* [Ibid. vol. 5. par. 1. p. 262.]

¶ Ibid. assert. 16. *Ἀπὸ δὲ γε τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ μεμερισμένως ὀρώμεν τὴν θερμασίαν ἐκτρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς οὐσίας καρπός, &c.* [p. 175.] *Ἀεὶ γὰρ παραπέφυκε ταῖς τοιαύταις οὐσίαις τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν τικτόμενα.* [p. 176.]

their subjects: "We see," says he, "heat inseparably proceeding from fire; but it is the fruit of the very essence of fire, proceeding inseparably from it; as also splendour is the fruit of light. For light cannot subsist without splendour, nor fire without heat; for what is begotten of them, does always adhere to such substances."

Again, in his Dialogues of the Trinity,* he asks, "Whether black and white, if they be not in their subjects, can subsist of themselves?" And the answer is, "They cannot."

Claud. Mamertus:† "In corporeal things, the body is the subject, and the colour of the body in the subject: in corporeal matters, the soul and discipline are instances; which are so connected, that the body cannot be without colour, nor the rational soul without discipline—can we ever prove, that what is in the subject abides, when the subject itself perishes?"

Isidore Hispal.:‡ "Quantity, quality, and situation, can none of them be without a subject."

Bertram proves against the Greeks,§ "that the Holy Ghost was not in Jesus Christ as in his subject; because," says he, "the Holy Ghost is not an accident that cannot subsist without its subject."

These testimonies of the Fathers may suffice to shew how they differ from the Church of Rome in this point of accidents being without a subject, which to them is so necessary a doctrine, that transubstantiation cannot be believed without it; and if the Fathers had believed transubstantiation, it is incredible that they should deny this doctrine, without so much as once excepting the case of the eucharist: none can imagine how their memory and reflection should be so short, especially when (as we have heard) they form their arguments to prove the eternity of the Son of God, and the personality of the Holy Ghost, from the inseparability of accidents from their subject.

* De Trinitate, Dial. 2. [Ibid.] p. 451. *Τὴν λευκότητα τυχὸν ἢ τὴν μελανίαν—αὐτάς πον κατ' ἐαυτάς ἀρ' ὑπάρχειν οἰήσῃ δύνασθαι; Οὐδαμῶς.*

† De Statu Animæ, l. 3. c. 3. In rebus corporeis subjectum est corpus, et color corporis in subjecto: in incorporeis animus et disciplina, quæ ita sibi nexa sunt, ut nec sine colore corpus, nec sine disciplina rationalis sit animus.—Utrumnam probare valeamus manere quod in subjecto est, ipso intereunte subjecto? [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 6. p. 1068. col. 2. Lugd. 1677.]

‡ Originum lib. 2. cap. 26. Quantitas, qualitas, et situs, sine subjecto esse non possunt. [ut supra, p. 19.]

§ Contra Græc. l. 2. c. 7. in tom. 2. Spicilegii D. Acherii.

Nay, one of them says,* “that if God himself had accidents, they would exist in his substance.”

When therefore Pope Innocent asserts,† “that in the eucharist there is colour and taste, and quantity and quality, and yet nothing coloured or tasteful, nothing of which quantity or quality are affections:” this is plainly to confound the nature of all things, and to turn accidents into substances. So that if, for instance, the host should fall into the mire, and contract dirt and filth, this filth sticks in nothing, or else accidents are the subject of it; for it is confessed on all hands, that Christ’s body cannot be soiled or made filthy. Not to insist upon the nonsense of this assertion, which is just as if one should talk of an eclipse without either sun or moon, or of a horse’s lameness without a leg, concerning which only lameness can be affirmed.

CHAP. IV.

THE FOURTH DIFFERENCE.

The Church of Rome has brought in the word Species, to signify those accidents without any subject: but the Fathers never take it in this sense.

I NEED only refer the reader, for the first part of this assertion, to the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent, Canon 2 and 3, where the word *species* is so used: and to what we heard before out of their Catechism, of “the species of bread and wine subsisting without any subject in which they are.” Every one knows this is their customary word to express appearances of things by, when nothing real is under them to support them.

But now we shall see this to be a strange and foreign usage of this word, which the Fathers know nothing of in their sense; but instead of denoting accidents (by the word *species*) which are in no subject, they use it commonly for the substance, the nature, the matter of a thing, the subject itself that appears: not for appearances without a subject.

* Orat. 5. contra Arianos, inter Athanasii Opera. [ut supra.]

† De Myst. Missæ, l. 4. c. 11. Est enim hic color et sapor et quantitas et qualitas, cùm nihil alterutro sit coloratum aut sapidum, quantum aut quale.

St. Ambrose often uses this word species, but never in the sense of the Romanists ; for which take these instances.

St. Ambrose says,* “That at the marriage (of Cana) our Lord, being requested, did change the substance of water into the species of wine.” That is, not into the appearance of wine, but into real wine that he changed it.

And in another place :† “He provided for the marriage a more necessary species ; *i. e.* wine, more agreeable to a marriage-feast than water.”

In another book, ‡ speaking of holy vessels which he broke for the redemption of captives, he says : “This number and order of captives far excels the species of cups ;” *i. e.* all sorts of them.

Again elsewhere :§ “The species of iron is heavier than the liquor of water ;” *i. e.* the substance of iron.

St. Austin :|| “They were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea. If therefore the figure of the sea availed so much, how much will the species of baptism avail ?”

In another place :¶ “To make the visible species of bread, many grains are mixed together into one.”

Again,** speaking of the bread in the sacrament, he says, “When by men’s hands it is brought to that visible species (*i. e.* to the substance of bread), it is not sanctified so as to become so great a sacrament, without the invisible operation of the Spirit of God.”

So elsewhere :†† “They all drank of the same spiritual

* Serm. 21. Dominum rogatum ad Nuptias aquæ substantiam in vini speciem commutasse. [Serm. 10. Append. vol. 2. p. 403. Par. 1690.]

† Serm. 22. Speciem magis necessariam Nuptiis præstitit. [Serm. 11. Ibid. p. 405.]

‡ Officior. lib. 2. cap. 28. Hic numerus captivorum, hic ordo præstantior est quam species poculorum. [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 103.]

§ De iis qui initiant. cap. 9. Gravior est ferri species quam aquarum liquor. [Ibid. p. 339.]

|| In Joan. tract. 11. Omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt in nube et in mari. Si ergo figura maris tantum valuit, species baptismi quantum valebit ? [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 1805. Par. 1837.]

¶ Serm. ad Infantes. Ut sit species visibilis panis, multa grana in unum consperguntur. [Serm. 272. Ibid. vol. 5. p. 1615.]

** Lib. 3. de Trinit. cap. 4. Quod cùm per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducitur, non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum Sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei, &c. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 1225.]

†† In Joan. tract. 26. Omnes eundem spiritualem potum biberunt ; aliud illi, aliud nos ; sed specie visibili quidem, tamen hoc idem significante virtute spirituali. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 1984.]

drink ; they one thing, and we another ; but though another as to the visible species, yet as to the spiritual virtue signifying the same thing.” Where the visible species, it is plain, denotes water to the Jews, and wine to us, not the accidents only.

And in another tractate* to the same sense, speaking of the Jews : “ Behold the signs are varied, faith remaining the same. To them the rock was Christ ; to us, that which is placed on the altar is Christ. They drank the water flowing from the rock for a great sacrament of the same Christ ; what we drink the faithful know. If you regard the visible species, it is another thing ; but if the intelligible signification, they drank the same spiritual drink.”

And so in another book,† speaking of things assumed to signify matters to us, he says, “ When it is assumed sometimes it is shewn in an angel, sometimes in that species which is not what an angel is, though it is ordered and disposed by an angel’s ministry.” And his next instance of such things is, *ipsum corpus*, a body itself.

So Gaudentius :‡ “ Also by the species of wine his blood is then rightly expressed ; for when he says in the Gospel, I am the true vine, he fully declares, that all the wine that is offered for a figure of his passion is his blood.”

Arnobius, jun. :§ “ Our Lord succours them, not only by affording them the species of corn, but also of wine and oil.” Where the word *species*, to be sure, relates to the substance and the thing itself, not to the accidents of corn, and wine, and oil.

Sedulius,|| speaking of the offerings of the wise men that came to Christ, says,

* Tract. 45. in Joan. Videte, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi petra Christus, nobis Christus quod in altari Dei ponitur ; et illi pro magno Sacramento ejusdem Christi biberunt aquam profluentem de petra, nos quid bibamus norunt fideles : si speciem visibilem intendas, aliud est, si intelligibilem significationem, eundem potum spiritualem biberunt. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 2132.]

† Lib. 3. de Trinit. cap. 10. Cùm autem suscipitur, aliquando in Angelo demonstratur, aliquando in ea specie quæ non est quod Angelus, quamvis per Angelum disposita ministretur. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 1232.]

‡ In Exod. tract. 2. Rectè etiam vini specie tum sanguis ejus exprimitur, quia cùm ipse in Evangelico dicit, Ego sum vitis vera, satis declarat sanguinem suum esse omne vinum quod in figura passionis ejus offertur. [ut supra, p. 946. vol. 2.]

§ In Psal. 104. Succurrit, non solum eis speciem frumenti, sed et vini et olei ministrans.

|| Lib. 2. Operis Paschal. [Carm. Paschal.] [Biblioth. Vet. Patr. vol. 9. p. 543. col. 2. Venet. 1773.]

"Ipsæ etiam ut possent Species ostendere Christum ;
Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera Regi,
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulchro."

That is,

"They point to Christ even by the gifts they bring ;
Gold they present unto him as a king,
Incense as God, myrrh for his burying."

The things they present are, you see, his species.

Salvian's words are plain :* "Add," says he, "those healed waters either given or changed, which preserved their species, and relinquished their nature." Here species is taken for the substance remaining, and nature for the qualities of the water that were changed.

Walafridus Strabo,† shewing how Christ in the last supper delivered to his disciples the sacraments of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine, adds, "Nothing more agreeable than these species could be found, to signify the unity of the head and members."

Rupertus Abbas:‡ "Nothing of the sacrifice enters into him that has no faith, besides the visible species of bread and wine." No one ever thought, but that the wicked partaked as much of the outward elements as the faithful ; but he says a little before, "That when the priest distributes the sacrifice to be eaten by the faithful, the bread and wine is consumed and passes away." Therefore by the "visible species" he means the bread and wine, which the wicked only partake of.

It has been largely proved by Salmasius,§ "That in the civil law and the Theodosian code, the word species is used for things there spoke of ; as, *species annonariæ*, for all sorts of corn ; *species publicæ*, for goods brought to the several ports ; *species vini, frumenti, olei*, for wine, corn, and oil ; and not the accidents."

It is not to be expected that any thing should be cited out of Greek authors, whose this word is not ; and yet it is ob-

* Lib. 1. de Gub. Dei. p. 21. Edit. Baluz. Adde medicatas aquas vel datas vel immutatas, Speciem servantes, Naturam relinquentes.

† De Rebus Eccles. cap. 16. Corporis et sanguinis sui Sacramenta panis et vini substantia Discipulis tradidit.—Nihil ergo congruentius his speciebus ad significandam capitis et membrorum unitatem, potuit inveniri.

‡ De Offic. lib. 2. cap. 9. In illum in quo fides non est, præter visibiles Species panis et vini, nihil de Sacrificio pervenit.

§ Simplicius Verinus de Transubst. p. 230, &c.

servable, that even among them the word εἶδος, that answers to the Latin word *species*, is taken in the sense of the Latin Fathers, and not in that of the present Church of Rome. To give only two instances.

The author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite,* speaking of Christ's incarnation, uses the phrase of "assuming our species;" which his scholiast, Maximus, thus explains;† εἰδοποιούμενον, that is, "when he had assumed our species or nature;" not merely an appearance of our nature.

Theophylact:‡ "Because," says he, "bread and wine are things familiar to us, and we could not endure, but should abhor to see flesh and blood set before us; therefore Christ, the lover of men, condescending to us, preserves the species of bread and wine (that is, the elements themselves), but he changes them into the virtue of his flesh and blood."

To conclude this head, Bertram,§ following the sense of the ancients, uses these phrases indifferently: "according to the visible species," and "according to the visible creature," or "according to the substance of the creatures." Which are modes of speech which the present Roman Church will not allow of in the eucharist. For they tell us their plain belief what species are, in a sequence on Corpus-Christi Day, which explains it thus:—

Sub diversis speciebus,
Signis tantum, et non rebus,
Latent res eximiae.

Admirable things lie hid under the different species, which are only signs, and not things.

* Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3. Ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰδοποιούμενον. [vol. 1. p. 197. Venet. 1755.]

† Τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς εἶδος, ἡγοῦν τὴν φύσιν λαβόντα. [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 71.]

‡ In Marc. 14. Τὸ μὴν εἶδος ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου φυλάττει, εἰς δύναμιν δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μεταστοιχείοι. [vol. 1. p. 249. Venet. 1754.]

§ Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Christi. Secundum Speciem visibilem, secundum visibilem Creaturam, et secundum creaturarum substantiam.

CHAP. V.

THE FIFTH DIFFERENCE.

The Fathers differ from the Roman Church in their assertions about the nature and properties of Bodies.

EVERY one knows what the sentiments of the Roman Church are herein, and what they must necessarily assert believing transubstantiation: That a body that is organical, as Christ's is, may be invisible and impalpable; commensurate to no space: that it may possess one place so as to be in more at the same time: that it may be entire in one part and in one point, and may exist after the manner of a spirit.

See Bellarmine de Eucharist. l. 1. cap. 1. reg. 3. et lib. 3. c. 7. The Council of Trent says,* "Whole and entire Christ is in the eucharist under the species of bread, and under every part of the species of bread."

I shall now shew, that the Fathers assert quite contrary to all these maxims of the Roman Church, giving us a different account of the nature and properties of bodies; and in the particulars forenamed make no difference betwixt Christ's body and ours.

First assertion. They assert, that every organized body, not excepting the body of Christ, is visible and palpable.

Tertullian:† "I understand nothing by the body of a man, &c. but what is seen and felt."

Methodius:‡ "God is incorporeal, and therefore invisible."

Eustathius Antioch.:§ "If he was invisible, without doubt he was incorporeal." Speaking of Samuel raised at Endor.

Didymus:|| "If a thing be invisible, it presently follows, that it is incorporeal."

Gregory Nazianzen:¶ "If God be a body, what kind of

* Sess. 13. cap. 3. Totus Christus et integer sub specie panis, et sub qualibet ejus speciei parte existit. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 806. Lut. Par. 1672.]

† De Resurrect. c. 35. Corpus hominis non aliud intelligam quam—quod videtur, quod tenetur. [p. 346. Par. 1695.]

‡ Apud Photium Cod. 234. 'Ασώματος ὦν, διὸ καὶ ἀόρατος. [p. 932. Rothomag. 1653.]

§ De Engastrimutho. Εἰ μὲν ἀόρατος ἦν, ἀναμφιλόγως ἀσώματος ἦν.

|| Caten. in Joan. 4. 24. 'Ακολουθεῖ δὲ εὐθέως τῷ ἀοράτῳ τὸ ἀσώματον.

¶ Orat. 34. Πότερον σῶμα, καὶ πῶς;—τὸ ἀναφές καὶ ἀόρατον;—οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ φύσει σωμαίων. [vol. 1. p. 540. Par. 1630.]

body, and how?—an impalpable and invisible one?—This is not the nature of bodies.” And he cries out, (Τῆς ἐξουσίας;) “O strange licence! to imagine thus.”

Gregory Nyssen says:* “That is not a body that wants colour, figure, solidness, space, weight, and the rest of its attributes.”

S. Austin, † speaking of our Lord, says: “He is always with us by his divinity; but if he were not corporally absent from us, we should always carnally see his body.”

Ephrem Antioch. :‡ “No man of any sense can say, that the nature of that which is palpable and impalpable, of that which is visible and that which is invisible, is the same. Although the Valentinians in Eulogius § say, that the nature of that which is visible, and that which is invisible, is the same.” And so did the Manichees. *Ibid.*

Vigilius, || speaking of the Lord’s body, says: “It is necessary the flesh, as well as the Word, if they be of one nature, be uncreated and invisible—but it is impossible that flesh should be the subject of such conditions.”

Titus Bostrensis :¶ “Every thing that falls under our sight, seeing it is a body, is in nature opposite to that which is invisible and incorporeal.”

Damascen :** “How can that be a body, &c. which is impalpable and invisible?”

Gregory the Great, †† speaking of a glorified body, says, “It will therefore be a subtile body, because it will be incor-

* De Opific. Hom. cap. 24. Οὐκ ἐστὶ σῶμα, ᾧ τὸ χρῶμα, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ ἡ ἀντιτυπία, καὶ ἡ διάστασις, τὸ βάρος, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ιδιωμάτων οὐ παρέσιν, &c. [vol. 1. p. 107. Par. 1638.]

† De Verb. Domini, Ser. 60. Semper quidem Divinitate nobiscum est, sed nisi corporaliter abiret à nobis, semper ejus corpus carnaliter videremus. [ut supra, vol. 5. p. 998.]

‡ Apud Photium, Cod. 229. Οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναται νοῦν ἔχων, ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ψηλαφητοῦ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτου, καὶ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου. [p. 794. Rothomag. 1653.]

§ *Ibid.* Cod. 230. Ἡμεῖς τοῦ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου μίαν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν φάμεν. [Ibid. p. 850.]

|| Lib. 4. contr. Eutych. Necesse erit ut caro, sicut et verbum, si unius cum eo est naturæ, increata sit et invisibilis, etc. Sed carnem his conditionibus subjacere impossibile est.

¶ Contr. Manich. 1. 2. Omne quod sub aspectum cadit, cum sit corpus, natura oppositum est inaspectabili et incorporeo, etc.

** De Fide Orth. lib. 1. c. 4. Ὡς σῶμα—ἀναφές καὶ ἀόρατον.

†† Moral. lib. 14. c. 33. Erit itaque subtilis, quia et incorruptibilis; erit palpabilis, quia non amittet essentiam veracis naturæ. [vol. 1. p. 467. Par. 1705.]

ruptible; and it will be palpable, because it shall not lose the essence of its true nature."

Cyril of Alexandria, in his *Explication of the third Anathema of the Ephesine Council*:* "He is not a stranger to that body which he has united to himself, which we say is capable to be felt, and to be seen."

In fine, the Church of Rome makes Christ's body invisible though it be present; the Fathers never make it so, but because it is absent.

So Ammonius:† "He was taken up into heaven, and became invisible unto men."

And the author *imperfecti Operis in Matthæum*:‡ "When he is present, he is not believed, but seen; but when he is absent, he is not seen, but believed, whilst he is feared."

Second assertion. The Fathers assert, that every body is *quantum*, and as it has quantity, possesses a place or space, and is commensurate to it: that a body cannot be in more than one place, nor be entire in one part, nor exist after the manner of a spirit. All which are false, if transubstantiation be true.

St. Basil§ makes that to be incorporeal, whose essence cannot be divided three ways (or has not three dimensions).

Gregory Nyssen says:|| "That if you take quantity, solidness, and other properties from the subject, the whole nature of the body is dissolved," &c.

St. Austin says so much upon this argument, that I must only mention some few testimonies out of a great heap that might be collected.

He says,¶ "A body is that which consists of greater and lesser parts, containing greater and lesser spaces of place."

Again,** distinguishing bodies into gross and subtile ones,

* Tom. 3. Concil. Labbe. p. 817. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀλλότριον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔνωθ' ἐν αὐτῷ σῶμα, ὃ καὶ ἀπτόν ἐῖναι φάμεν, καὶ ὁρατόν.

† Caten. in Joan. 16. 10. Ἀναληφθέντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἀφανῆ γεγονότα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

‡ Homil. 53. Si sit præsens, non creditur, sed videtur; cùm autem absens fuerit, non videtur, sed creditur, dum timetur.

§ Contr. Eunom. l. 2. Οὐσίαν τριχῇ διαστατήν.

|| De Opific. Hom. c. 24. Ἐκαστον δὲ τούτων εἰ ὑφαιρεθείη τοῦ ὑποκειμένου, πᾶς ὁ τοῦ σώματος συνδιαλύεται λόγος. [ut supra.]

¶ Lib. 4. de Orig. Animæ, c. 11. Corpus est quicquid majoribus et minoribus suis partibus, majora et minora spatia locorum continentibus, constat. [c. 12.] [ut supra, vol. 10. p. 769.]

** Epist. 3. ad Volusian. Quorum nullum potest esse ubique totum, quoniam per innumerabiles partes aliud alibi habeat necesse est: et quantumcumque sit corpus seu quantulumcumque corpusculum loci occupet

he says, "Both are bodies, none of which can be every where whole and entire, because by reason of its innumerable parts, it must have another place elsewhere; and how great or little soever a body is, it possesses a space of place, and so fills that place, that it is not whole in any part of it." And a little after: "God is not thus said to fill the world, in the same manner as water or air does, so that by a lesser part of himself he fills a lesser part of the world, and by a greater part a greater." So that, according to him, none but God and spirits can have such an existence.

So in his epistle to Euodius:* "There is no body so little, which after its manner does not possess a local space; neither is it whole every where in that space it possesses, but less in a part of that space than in the whole."

And again:† "There can be no body, either celestial or terrestrial, aerial or aqueous, that is not less in a part than in the whole; nor can it any ways have another part in the place of this part, but must have one here, another elsewhere, throughout the several distant and divided spaces of place," &c.

"But the nature of the soul is not found to be extended to the spaces of place by any bulkiness."

He says the same in another epistle,‡ and adds, "Take away local extent from bodies, and they will be no where; and if they are no where, they will not be at all."

In the same epistle, speaking of the Divine Persons, that nothing hinders why they may not be every where *simul*, he

spatium, eundemque locum sic impleat, ut in nulla ejus parte sit totum.—Non sic Deus dicitur implere mundum, velut aqua, velut aer, ut minore sui parte minorem mundi impleat partem, et majore majorem. Novit ubique totus esse, et nullo contineri loco. [Epist. 137. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 602.]

* Epist. 101. Nullum esse quantulumcunque corpusculum, quod non pro suo modo loci occupet spatium; nec in eo quod occupat ubique sit totum, sed minus sit in parte quàm in toto. [Epist. 162. Ibid. p. 865.]

† Contra Epist. Manichæi, cap. 16. Nec omnino potest esse aliquod corpus sive coeleste, sive terrestre, sive aereum, sive humidum, quod non minus sit in parte quàm in toto, neque ullo modo possit in loco hujus partis habere aliam partem, sed aliud hic, aliud alibi per spatia quælibet locorum distantia et dividua, etc. Animæ vero natura nullo modo invenitur locorum spatiis aliqua mole distendi. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 281.]

‡ Ad Dardanum Epist. 57. Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Non enim corpora sunt, quorum amplior sit in tribus quam in singulis magnitudo, nec loca suis molibus tenent, ut distantibus spatiis simul esse non possint. Ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem Templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cœli, propter veri corporis modum. [Epist. 187. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 1038.]

argues thus: "For they are not bodies, whose magnitude is larger in three than in one; nor do they possess places by their bulk, so as not to be able to be in distant spaces at once," (which is the nature, he acknowledges, of bodies.)

He says also of Christ, "We are not to doubt that whole Christ is every where present as God, and is in the same temple of God, as an inhabiting Deity, and in one certain place of heaven, by reason of the nature of his true body."

Elsewhere:* "God is whole in heaven, and whole on earth; not at different times successively, but both together; which no corporeal nature is capable of."

Again:† "Every thing that may be seen with bodily eyes, must of necessity be in some place; nor can it be whole every where, but must possess a lesser place by a lesser part of itself, and a greater place by a greater part."

He repeats almost the same in his twenty-eighth epistle.

And in another book:‡ "The parts of air also fill their places; nor is it possible that the air that fills this house, should together with it have the air that is in a neighbour's house."

Again elsewhere:§ "Every thing of bulk that possesses a place, is not whole in its single parts, but whole in all its parts; therefore one part of it is in this place, and another in another."

In another tract:|| "Man, as to his body, is in a place, and passes from one place to another; and when he comes to another place, he is no longer in that place from whence he

* De Civit. Dei, l. 22. c. 29. Deus totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul, quod nulla natura corporalis potest. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 1109.]

† Epist. 6. ad Italicam. Omne quod oculis corporeis conspici potest, in loco aliquo sit necesse est, neque ubique sit totum, sed minore sui parte minorem locum occupet, et majore majorem. [Epist. 92. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 341.]

‡ Cont. Epist. Manichæi, c. 16. Aeris partes suos quoque implent locos, nec fieri potest ut aer quo impletur hæc domus, simul secum in eadem domo habere possit etiam illum aerem quem vicini habent. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 280.]

§ De Immort. Animæ, c. 16. Moles omnis quæ occupat locum, non est in singulis suis partibus tota, sed in omnibus, quare aliqua pars ejus alibi est, et alibi alia. [Ibid. vol. 1. p. 666.]

|| Tract. 31. in Joan. Homo secundum corpus in loco est, et de loco migrat, et cum ad alium locum venerit, in eo loco unde venit non est: Deus autem implet omnia et ubique totus est, non secundum spatia tenetur locis. Erat tamen Christus secundum visibilem carnem in terra, secundum invisibilem Majestatem in cœlo et in terra. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 2021.]

came. But God fills all things, and is every where whole, not confined to places according to spaces. Christ, according to his visible flesh, was on earth; according to his invisible majesty, in heaven and earth."

To name but two or three more out of St. Austin, who seems to speak prophetically :* "Having said thus, he ascended into heaven, and would precaution us against those that he foretold would arise in succeeding ages, and say, Lo, here is Christ, or lo there; whom he warned us not to believe: and we shall have no excuse if we shall believe them against this so clear, open, and manifest voice of our Pastor," &c.

And in his book against Faustus,† he says, "That Christ, according to his corporal presence, cannot be at the same time in the sun, and in the moon, and on the cross."

Lastly, in another tract:‡ "Our Lord is above, yet also truth the Lord is here: for the body of our Lord in which he arose, must be in one place; his truth is diffused every where."

Neither do the rest of the Fathers differ from his doctrine, but give their full consent to it.

Anastasius Nicaenus :§ "It is impossible to imagine a body without a place, and other things, without which it cannot be," &c.

Didymus Alexandr.|| proves the Holy Ghost to be God, because he is in more places than one. "The Holy Ghost himself, if he were one of the creatures, would at least have a circumscribed (or bounded) substance, as all things have that are

* De Unit. Eccles. c. 10. His dictis mox ascendit in cœlum, præmunire voluit aures nostras adversus eos, qui procedentibus temporibus exsurrecturos esse prædixerat, et dicturos, Ecce hic Christus, ecce illic. Quibus nec crederemus admonuit. Nec ulla nobis excusatio est, si crediderimus contra vocem Pastoris nostri tam claram, tam apertam, tam manifestam, etc. [c. 11.] [Ibid. vol. 9. p. 562.]

† Lib. 20. cap. 11. Secundùm præsentiam corporalem simul et in sole, et in luna et in cruce esse non posset. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 536.]

‡ Tract 80. in Joan. Sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Dominus. Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit, uno loco esse oportet (*the printed copies absurdly read potest*) veritas ejus ubique diffusa est. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 2011.]

§ In Collect. adv. Severianos in Bibl. Patr. tom. 4. Impossibile est cogitare corpus sine loco, et sine aliis extra quæ esse non potest, &c.

|| De Spiritu S. lib. 1. Ipse Spiritus S. si unus de creaturis esset, saltem circumscriptam haberet substantiam, sicut universæ quæ factæ sunt—Spiritus autem, cùm in pluribus sit, non habet substantiam circumscriptam. Angelica virtus ab hoc prorsus aliena. [Biblioth. Vet. Patr. vol. 6. p. 265. Venet. 1770.]

made—But the Holy Spirit, seeing he is in more than one, has not a bounded substance.” And afterwards he says, “That the Holy Ghost was present with the Apostles, though dispersed to the ends of the earth ;” and adds, “The power of angels is altogether a stranger to this.”

Theodoret* makes this a consequence from angels being of a determinate substance, “that then they require a place to be in : for only the Divinity,” says he, “as being undetermined, is not in a place.” And elsewhere,† speaking of Christ’s body after the resurrection, he says, “Still it is a body, having its former circumscription.”

Cyril of Alexandria,‡ disputing against those that thought the Son was begotten of the substance of the Father, by a division of his substance, says,§ “If the Divine Nature did admit of section and division, then you conceive of it as a body ; and if so, then it must be in a place, and in magnitude and quantity ; and if endued with quantity, it could not avoid being circumscribed.”

Fulgentius also :|| “That which is circumscribed by any end (or bound), must be contained in a place, or in time.”

And again,¶ speaking of Christ’s body : “If the body of Christ be a true one, it must be contained in a place.”

St. Gregory Nazianzen** makes it impossible for one body to be in divers.

So does Damascen†† make it impossible that one body should pass through another, unless there be τέμνον καὶ τεμνόμενον, that which divides, and that which is divided.

Claud. Mamertus :‡‡ “Nothing illocal is corporeal ; every thing illocal is also incorporeal.”

* In. Genes. qu. 3. Τόπον ἄρα προσδέονται μόνον γὰρ τὸ Θεῖον, ὡς ἀπερίγραφον, οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ. [vol. 1. p. 7. Hal. 1773.]

† Dialog. 2. Σῶμα δὲ ὅμως ἐστὶ τὸν προτέραν ἔχων περιγραφὴν. [Ibid. vol. 4. p. 122.]

‡ De S. Trinit. Dial. 2.

§ Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ πάντως πού, καὶ ἐν μεγέθει, καὶ πόσῳ, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πεπόσεται, μὴ φευγέτω περιγραφὴν. [vol. 5. par. 1. p. 447. Lut. 1638.]

|| Ad Thrasimund. lib. 2. c. 7. Quod aliquo circumscribitur fine, necesse est ut loco teneatur aut tempore.

¶ Ib. c. 18. Si verum est corpus Christi, loco utique oportet contineri. (The printed copies read *potest contineri*, without sense.)

** Σῶμα ἐν σώμασιν ἐστὶ, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. Orat. 34. [p. 451. Par. 1630.]

†† De Fide Orth. 1. 1. c. 4.

‡‡ De Statu Animæ, 1. 2. c. 3. Nihil illocale corporeum : omne illocale incorporeum quoque est. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 6. p. 1060. col. 2. Lugd. 1677.]

And again :* “It is plain, that no body can be touched wholly together, nor can the least whole you can imagine, be in one place (that is, in one point).” And he instances in a grain of poppy, or the least part of it, “that it has not its lower parts there where it has its upper parts, nor its right-hand parts there where its left-hand parts are, nor its parts before there where it has its parts behind.”

St. Hilary,† speaking of Christ as God, says, “He is a Spirit, penetrating and containing all things. For according to us he is not corporeal, so that when he is present in one place he should be absent from another,” &c.

And elsewhere :‡ “A man, or any thing like him, when he is in a place any where, cannot then be elsewhere ; because that which is there is contained where it is ; and he that is placed any where, his nature is incapable to be every where.”

So also Nazianzen :§ “A vessel of the capacity of one measure, will not contain two measures ; nor the place that will hold one body, can receive two or more bodies into it.”

Again,|| a little after : “This is the nature of intellectual beings, that incorporeally and indivisibly they mingle with one another, and with bodies.”

And elsewhere¶ he proves the Deity of the Holy Ghost, because “he penetrates all intellectual, pure, and most subtile spirits (as the angels, and also Apostles and prophets) at the same time, when they are not in the same places, but dispersed severally ; which shews, that the Holy Spirit is uncircumscribed.

St. Basil uses the same argument to prove the same : “Every one of the other powers we believe to be in a circumscribed

* Ibid. lib. 1. c. 18. Hinc patet omne corpus totum simul tangi non posse, nec in uno loco esse quamlibet minimum totum posse.—Illic non habet inferiora sua ubi habet superiora sua, nec illic dextra ubi sinistra, nec anteriora illic ubi posteriora. [p. 1053. col. 1.]

† In Psal. 124. Spiritus namque est omnia penetrans et continens. Non enim secundum nos corporalis est, ut cum alicubi adsit, absit aliunde, &c. [p. 455. Veron. 1730.]

‡ Lib. 8. de Trinitate. Homo, aut aliquid ei simile, cum alicubi erit, tum alibi non erit ; quia illud quod est illic continetur ubi fuerit, infirma ad id natura ejus, ut ubique sit, qui insistsens alicubi sit. [Ibid. p. 230.]

§ Orat. 51. Ἀγγεῖον μεδιμναῖον οὐ χωρήσει διμέδιμνον, οὐδὲ σώματος ἑνὸς τόπος δύο ἢ πλείω σώματα. [ut supra, p. 741.]

|| Paulo post. Τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τῶν νοητῶν φύσις, ἀσωμάτως καὶ ἀχωρίστως, καὶ ἀλλήλοις, καὶ σώμασι μίγνυσθαι. [Ibid.]

¶ Orat. 37. Διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων νοερῶν, καθαρῶν, λεπτοτάτων—κατὰ ταυτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, ἄλλων δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ νενεμημένων, ᾧ δηλοῦται τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον.

place ; for the angel that was present to Cornelius was not in the same place that he was in when he was present to Philip ; nor the angel that talked with Zacharias at the altar, did at the same time fulfil his station in heaven. But the Spirit we believe could at the same time act both in Habakkuk, and in Daniel when he was in Babylon, &c. For the Spirit of the Lord filled the universe.”* Which is an ill argument, if Christ’s body could be in more places at the same time.

Arnobius,† disputing against the heathens, who said, that their gods did inhabit their statues, whom yet they believed to be finite and bounded, urges them thus : “ The gods that inhabit in statues, are they single gods that are in single statues whole, or divided into several parts ? For one god (finite as theirs were) cannot be in many statues at the same time, nor again exist divided into parts by being cut asunder. For let us suppose that there are ten thousand statues of Vulcan all the world over : can one at one time be in all those ten thousand statues ? I think not. If you ask, why so ? Even because those things that are of a particular and singular nature, cannot be made many, retaining the entireness of their simplicity.” Again : “ If this be supposed, that one deity can dwell in them all at one time, then you must either say of every god, that he can divide himself from himself, so as to be the same, and another too, not separated by any difference, but that he shall be the very same, and yet another ; which because nature refuses and rejects, you must say and confess, that there are innumerable Vulcans, if we will suppose him to

* De Spir. S. cap. 14. *Ἄλλων ἐκάστη δυνάμεων ἐν περιγράπτῳ τόπῳ τυγχάνειν πεπίστευται*, &c. *Πνεῦμα γὰρ Κυρίου πεπλήρωκε τὴν οἰκουμένην*. [cap. 23.] [vol. 3. p. 64. Par. 1839.]

† Lib. 6. contra Gentes. In simulachris Dii habitant, singuline in singulis toti, an partiliter atque in membra divisi ? Nam neque unus Deus in compluribus potis est uno tempore inesse simulachris, neque rursus in partes sectione interveniente divisus. Constituamus enim decem millia simulachrorum toto esse in orbe Vulcani : nunquid esse ut dixi, decem omnibus in millibus potis est unus uno in tempore ? Non opinor. Qua causa ? Quia quæ sunt privata singulariaque naturâ, multa fieri nequeunt, simplicitatis suæ integritate servata.—Si hoc fuerit sumptum, posse unum in omnibus eodem tempore permanere, aut Deorum unusquisque dicendus ita ipsum semet ab ipso se dividere, ut et ipse sit et alter, non aliquo discrimine separatus, sed et ipse idem et alius ; quod quoniam recusat et respuit aspernaturque natura, aut innumeros dicendum est confitendumque esse Vulcanos, si in cunctis volumus eum degere atque inesse simulachris, aut erit in nullo, quia esse divisus natura prohibetur in plurimis. [p. 215. Wirceb. 1783.]

be and dwell in all his statues ; or else that he is in none of them, because nature prohibits his division among many." All this would be very ill reasoning if he believed that which the Church of Rome does, that all this which he disputes against, is done in the eucharist.

St. Ambrose :* " Since every creature is bounded within certain limits of his nature, &c. how dare any one call the Holy Ghost a creature, who has not a limited and determined virtue ? For he is always in all things, and in all places, which is the property of the Divinity, and of supreme rule."

And afterwards mentioning that place of the Psalmist, " Whither shall I go from thy Spirit ?" He adds, " Of what angel does the Scripture say this ? Of what principality ? Of what power ? What angel's virtue do we find diffused among many ?—Who can doubt then that to be divine, that is at once infused into more, and is not seen ; and that to be corporeal, which is seen of every one, and held by them ?"

Tertullian† also proves the Deity of Christ, by his presence in every place : " If Christ be only man, how is he every where present with those that call upon him ? Seeing this is not the nature of man, but of God, to be present in every place."

Author Quæst. ad Antioch.‡ denies that angels can be present in many places at once, and adds, " That it is God's property only to be found in two places, and in the whole world at the same moment of time."

In consequence of this doctrine of theirs about bodies, the Fathers in the last place assert,

Third assertion. That it is impossible for one to dwell in himself, or to partake of, and have one's own body in himself ; because whatsoever contains, must be greater than that which

* Lib. [1.] de Spir. S. c. 7. Cùm omnis creatura certis suæ naturæ sit circumscripta limitibus, &c. quomodo quis audeat creaturam appellare Spiritum S. qui non habeat circumscriptam determinatamque virtutem ? quia et in omnibus et ubique semper est, quod utique Divinitatis et Dominationis est proprium.—De quo hoc Angelo Scriptura dicit ? de qua Dominatione ? de qua Potestate ? Cujus invenimus Angeli virtutem per plurimos esse diffusam ?—Quis ergo dubitet quin divinum sit, quod infunditur simul pluribus, nec videtur ; corporeum autem quod videtur à singulis et tenetur ? [vol. 2. p. 617. Par. 1690.]

† Lib. de Trinitate. Si homo tantummodo Christus, quomodo adest ubique invocaturis ? cùm hæc non hominis natura est sed Dei, ut adesse in omni loco possit.

‡ Quæst. 26. Μόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστιν ἐν δυσὶ τόποις, καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ κόσμῳ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ῥοπῇ εὐρίσκεσθαι.

is contained in it; and there would be a penetration of dimensions, which they deny.

Cyril of Alex. lays it down as a rule,* that “nothing can partake of itself.”

And elsewhere:† “Seeing nothing can partake of itself, but this is with relation to another, it is altogether necessary to affirm, that that which partakes should be different in nature from that which is partaked of”

And again he says,‡ “That to partake of oneself, is absurd so much as to imagine it.”

St. Chrysostom says,§ “He that dwells in the tabernacle, and the tabernacle itself, are not the same; but one thing dwells in another thing: for nothing dwells in itself.”

Gelasius Cæsariensis:|| “The Word was made flesh, not being itself changed, but dwelling in us. The tabernacle is one thing, and the Word is another; the temple is one thing, and God that dwells in it another.”

See also the like saying in Methodius, cited by Photius in his Bibliotheca. Cod. 234, p. 920, ult. edit.

In a word, the Fathers oppose all penetration of dimensions in bodies, and say,¶ “That it is impossible for one body to penetrate another body.”

And the same author says,** “That if this were possible, you might then say, that heaven itself might be contained in a grain of millet.”

The Fathers argue against Marcion, upon this rule, “That whatsoever contains another thing, is greater than that which is contained in it.”

* De Trin. Dialog. 6. Μέτοχον ἑαυτοῦ παντελῶς οὐδέν. [ut supra, vol. 5. par. 1. p. 594.]

† Ibid. Dial. 5 et 7. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἂν τι μεταλάβοι ποτὲ, πάθοι δ' ἂν αὐτὸ τῇ πρὸς ἕτερον σχέσει, τὸ μέτοχον τοῦ μετεχομένου, πᾶσά πως ἀνάγκη καὶ ἑτεροφυνὲς εἶναι λέγειν. [Ibid. p. 560, 643.]

‡ Idem in Joan. lib. 2. c. 1. Μόνον ἐννοεῖν ἀπίθανον. [Ibid. vol. 4. p. 119.]

§ Hom. 10. in Joan. citat. à Theodoret. Dial. 2. Ἄλλ' ἕτερον ἐν ἑτέρῳ σκηνοῖ—οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατοικεῖ. [Chrysost. Op. vol. 8. p. 74. Par. 1836.]

|| Citat. à Theodoret. Dial. 1. [vol. 4. p. 46. Hal. 1772.] Ἐν ἡμῖν σκηνώσας ἕτερον σκηνή, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ λόγος ἕτερον ὁ ναὸς, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ ἐνοικῶν αὐτῷ Θεός.

¶ Author. Libr. cui tit. Celebres Opiniones de Anima, c. 10. Σῶμα γὰρ διὰ σώματος χωρῆσαι ἀδύνατον.

** Ibid. cap. ult. Sic dici posset in milii grano cælum contineri.

So does Epiphanius.* So does Tertullian.† Irenæus‡ has the same rule, and laughs at Marcion's god upon that account.

Greg. Nyssen§ proves that the Deity has no bounds, by this argument, "that otherwise what contains would be greater than the Deity contained therein."

Theophilus Antioch. says,|| "This is the property of the Almighty and true God, not only to be every where, but to inspect and hear all things. Neither is he contained in a place, for else the containing place would be greater than himself; for that which contains, is greater than that which is contained in it."

I will conclude this chapter with the remarkable words of Fulgentius:¶ "Every thing so remains, as it has received of God that it should be, one on this manner, and another on that. For it is not given to bodies to exist after such a manner as is granted unto spirits," &c.

CHAP. VI.

THE SIXTH DIFFERENCE.

The Church of Rome (suitably to the strange doctrine it teaches about Christ's body and blood) teaches us not to believe the report our senses make, that the substance of bread and wine remains in the sacrament; but to pass a contrary judgment to what they inform us herein. But the Fathers teach the contrary, that we may securely rely upon the evidence of our senses, as to any body, even as to the true Body of Christ.

THAT the Church of Rome would not have us in this matter to attend to the evidence of sense, is needless to prove, since nothing is more common than to hear them call upon us to distrust them, and to believe against their report. Thus

* Hæres. 42. sec. 7. Τὸ περιεκτικὸν μεῖζον τοῦ περιεχομένου. [vol. 1. p. 307. Colon. 1682.]

† Contr. Marcion. l. 1. c. 15. [ut supra, p. 372.]

‡ Adv. Hæ. l. 2. c. 1. [vol. 1. p. 116. Venet. 1734.]

§ De Vita Mosis.

|| Ad Autolyicum, l. 2. Μεῖζον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ χωροῦν τοῦ χωρουμένου.

¶ De Fide ad Petr. c. 3. Unaquæque res ita permanet, sicut à Deo accepit ut esset, alia quidem sic, alia autem sic. Neque enim sic datum est corporibus ut sint, sicut spiritus acceperunt, &c. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 9. p. 76. col. 1. Lugd. 1777.]

the Trent Catechism* teaches us to believe, "That no substance of the elements remains in the eucharist, though nothing seems more strange and remote from our senses than this." And again,† "We so receive the body and blood of Christ, that yet we cannot perceive by our senses that it is truly so."

As for the Fathers, they are strangers to this doctrine, nor did they betray the Christian cause in this manner, by taking away all certainty from the testimony of our senses. They, on the contrary, proved the truth of Christ's body against the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and other heretics, by this argument, which the Church of Rome rejects; they made their appeals frequently (as St. John had done before them) to what had been seen with men's eyes, to what their ears had heard, and their hands had handled, without any suspicion of their being deceived.

Thus Irenæus:‡ "This meets with them who say, that Christ suffered only seemingly. For if he did not truly suffer, no thanks are due to him, when there was no passion. And when we shall begin truly to suffer, he will seem a seducer, when he exhorts us to suffer stripes, and to turn the other cheek, if he first did not suffer this in truth. And as he seduced them, in seeming to be that which he was not; so he seduces us, whilst he exhorts us to suffer the things which he did not suffer."

Again:§ "These things were not done seemingly only, but in reality of truth; for if he appeared to be a man when he was not so, he neither did remain the Spirit of God, which he truly was, since a spirit is invisible, nor was there any truth in

* Ad Paroch. de Euchar. part. 2. num. 25.—Nullam Elementorum substantiam remanere, quamvis nihil magis à sensibus alienum et remotum videri possit. [p. 185. Lips. 1847.]

† Ib. n. 46. Corpus et sanguinem Domini ita sumimus, ut tamen quod verè sit, sensibus percipi non potest. [p. 195.]

‡ Lib. 3. adv. Hæres. c. 20. Hoc autem et illis occurrit, qui dicunt eum putativè passum: Si enim non verè passus est, nulla gratia ei, cùm nulla fuerit passio. Et nos cùm incipiemus verè pati, seducens videbitur, adhortans nos vapulare et alteram præbere maxillam, si ipse illud non prior in veritate passus est. Et quemadmodum illos seduxit, ut videretur ipse hoc quod non erat, et nos seducit adhortans perferre ea quæ ipse non pertulit. [ut supra, vol. 1. p. 211. col. 1.]

§ Id. lib. 5. cap. 1. citante Theodoret. Dial. 2. Οὐ γὰρ δοκήσει ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑποστάσει ἀληθείας ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὡν ἄνθρωπος ἐφαίνετο ἄνθρωπος, οὔτε ὁ ἦν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἔμεινε πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ ἀόρατον τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε ἀλήθεια τις ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνα ἅπερ ἐφαίνετο. [Ibid. p. 292. col. 2.]

him ; for he was not that which he appeared to be." He thought it, you see, absurdity enough to say, that Christ appeared what he was not. But what absurdity can this be to them that say it is constantly so in the sacrament, where that appears so and so which is not so, as the bread and wine, according to them, does ?

Again :* "As Christ therefore rose again in the substance of our flesh, and shewed to his disciples the print of the nails and the opening of his side, and these are indications of his flesh which arose from the dead : so also, he says, he will raise us up by his power."

Tertullian argues thus against Marcion : † "Believe it, he chose rather to be born (which Marcion thought absurd) than in any respect to lie, and that against himself ; so as to carry flesh about him hard without bones, solid without muscles, bloody without blood, clothed without a garment, craving food without hunger, eating without teeth, speaking without a tongue, so that his speech was a phantasm to men's ears by the image only of a voice." Then he instances in Christ's shewing his hands and feet to his disciples after his resurrection : "Behold," says he, "it is I myself ; for a spirit has not flesh and bones." But, as he goes on, according to Marcion's interpretation, ‡ "Behold, he cozens, and deceives, and circumvents all men's eyes, all men's senses, all their approaches and touches. Thou therefore shouldst not have brought down Christ from heaven, but from some society of jugglers," &c.

Again : § "Now when the flesh of Christ is found to be a

* Id. lib. 5. cap. 7. Quomodo igitur Christus in carnis substantia resurrexit, et ostendit discipulis figuram clavorum et apertionem lateris ; hæc autem sunt indicia carnis ejus quæ surrexit à mortuis ; sic et nos, inquit, suscitabit per virtutem suam. [Ibid. p. 300. col. 1.]

† De Carne Christi, c. 5. Maluit, crede, nasci, quam aliqua ex parte mentiri, et quidem in semetipsum ; ut carnem gestaret sine ossibus duram, sine musculis solidam, sine sanguine cruentam, sine tunica vestitam, sine fame esurientem, sine dentibus edentem, sine lingua loquentem, ut phantasma auribus fuerit sermo ejus per imaginem vocis. [p. 310. Par. 1695.]

‡ Ecce fallit et decipit et circumvenit omnium oculos, omnium sensus, omnium accessus et contactus. Ergo jam Christum non de cœlo deferre debueras, sed de aliquo circulatorio cœtu, &c. [Ibid. p. 311.]

§ Idem. adv. Marcion. 1. 3. c. 8. Jam nunc cùm mendacium apprehenditur Christi caro ; sequitur ut et omnia quæ per carnem Christi gesta sunt, mendacio gesta sint, congressus, contactus, convictus, ipsæ quoque virtutes. Ibid. [p. 401.] An credam ei de interiore substantia, qui sit de exteriori frustratus ? Quomodo verax habebitur in occulto, qui fallax repertus in aperto ? [Ibid.]

falsity, it follows also, that all the things done by the flesh of Christ, are falsely acted ; such as his meeting persons, touching them, his conversation, and even his miracles themselves," &c.

And when Marcion had instanced in the appearances of angels to Abraham and to Lot, like men, meeting with them, and eating, and doing that they were commanded, Tertullian answers,* " Know that this is not granted neither, that those angels had only seeming flesh, but of a true, solid, human substance."

He adds afterwards,† " It suffices me to define that, which is agreeable to God, *viz.* the truth of that thing which he has made the object of three senses that testify it, *viz.* sight, touch, and hearing."

And again:‡ " Thou now honourest thy God with the title of fallaciousness, if he knew himself to be another thing, than what he made men to believe he was."

And in his next book against Marcion:§ " The argument of the woman that was a sinner belongs to this, to prove that when she kissed our Lord's feet, watered them with her tears, wiped them with her hairs, and anointed them, she then handled the truth of a solid body, and not an empty phantom."

Again in the last chapter:|| " Why does he offer to their inspection his hands and his feet, which are members consisting of bones, if he had no bones? Why did he add, 'and know that it is I myself,' to wit, whom they had known before to have a body?"

May not we ask, agreeably to this reasoning of Tertullian, Why does Christ offer to our sight the accidents of bread and wine, if there be no bread and wine remaining in the eucharist; especially when what we see we knew to be bread and wine before?

But the most remarkable testimony of Tertullian's is in his

* Ibid. c. 9. Scito, nec illud concedi tibi, ut putativa fuerit in Angelis caro, sed veræ et solidæ substantiæ humanæ. [p. 402.]

† Ibid. c. 10. Sufficit mihi hoc definire, quod Deo congruit, veritatem scilicet illius rei, quam tribus testibus sensibus objecit, visui, tactui, auditui.

‡ Ibid. c. 11. Jam Deum tuum honoras fallaciæ titulo, si aliud se esse sciebat, quam quod homines fecerat opinari. [p. 403.]

§ Lib. 4. c. 18. Illius peccatricis feminæ argumentum eò pertinebit, ut cùm pedes Domini osculis figeret, lacrymis inundaret, crinibus detergeret, unguento perduceret, solidi corporis veritatem, non phantasma inane tractaverit. [p. 432.]

|| Ibid. c. 43. Cur autem inspectui eorum manus et pedes suos offert, quæ membra ex ossibus constant, si ossa non habebat? Cur adjecit, Et scitote quod ego sum, quem scilicet corporeum retro noverant? [p. 460.]

book *de Anima*,* where on set purpose he opposes the Academics, that would not have men give credit to their senses. He urges against them,† “That there is no abuse of the senses but has a cause for it : and if those causes deceive the senses, and our opinions by them, the fallacy is not to be charged upon our senses, that follow those causes ; nor upon our opinions, that are directed by our senses, which follow those causes.” And afterwards he cries out, “O thou malapert Academy, what dost thou do ? (in charging deceit upon the senses) thou overturnest the whole state of life, thou disturbest all the order of nature, thou blindest the providence of God himself, who (according to thee) has set lying and deceitful senses as lords over all his works, for to understand, inhabit, dispense, and enjoy them,” &c.

‡ —“It is no ways lawful and fit to call those senses in question, lest we should doubt of their credit even in Christ himself ; lest it should be said, that he falsely saw Satan thrown down from heaven, or falsely heard his Father’s voice testifying concerning him, or was deceived when he touched Peter’s wife’s mother, or perceived afterwards a different scent of the ointment which he accepted for his burial, and afterwards a different taste of the wine which he consecrated in memory of his blood.—Neither was nature abused in his Apostles. Faithful was their sight and hearing in the mount ; faithful and true was the taste of that wine which was water before, at the marriage in Galilee ; faithful was Thomas’s touch, who thereupon believed.”

“Recite John’s testimony : That which we have seen, says he, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes,

* *De Anima*, cap. 17. [Ibid. p. 275.]

† Nulla sensuum frustratio causa caret, quod si causæ fallunt sensus, et per sensus opiniones, jam nec in sensibus constituenda fallacia est, qui causas sequuntur, nec in opinionibus qui sensibus diriguntur sequentibus causas.—Quid agis, Academia procacissima ? Totum vitæ statum evertis, omnem naturæ ordinem turbas, ipsius Dei providentiam excœcas, qui cunctis operibus suis intelligendis, incolendis, dispensandis, fruendisque fallaces et mendaces dominos præfecerit sensus, &c. [p. 275, 276.]

‡ — Non licet, non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos devocare, ne et in Christo de fide eorum deliberetur ; nè fortè dicatur, quod falso Satanam prospectarit de coelo præcipitatum ; aut falso vocem Patris audierit de ipso testificatam ; aut deceptus sit cùm Petri socrum tetigit, aut alium postea unguenti spiritum senserit, quod in supulcrum suam accepit ; alium postea vini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravat.—Atque nè in Apostolis quidem ejus ludificata natura est. Fidelis fuit et visus et auditus in monte ; fidelis et gustus vini illius, licet aquæ ante, in nuptiis Galilææ ; fidelis et tactus exinde creduli Thomæ. [p. 756.]

and our hands have handled of the Word of life.* This is all a false testification, if the nature of the sense of our eyes and ears and hands is a lie and a cheat."

And in the next chapter :† "The understanding seems to use sense as a leader, and author, and principal foundation ; neither can truths be laid hold of without it."

St. Austin teaches the same doctrine :‡ "Our eyes do not deceive us, for they can only report to the mind how they are affected.—If one thinks that an oar is broken in the water, and when it is taken out of the water made whole again, he has not a bad reporter, but he is an ill judge. For the eye, according to its nature, neither could nor ought to perceive it otherwise while in the water ; for if the air is a different medium from water, it must perceive it one ways in the air, and another ways in water. Therefore the eye sees rightly ; for it was made only to see : but the mind judges amiss," &c.

So also St. Hilary :§ "He takes away their foolish rashness, who contend that our Lord was seen in the flesh in a deceitful and false body ; that the Father feigning truth, shewed him in the habit of false flesh" (as the Romanists make Christ's body to be shewn in *habitu falsi panis*), "not remembering what was said after his resurrection, to the Apostles that thought they saw a spirit : Why are ye troubled, &c. Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself ; for a spirit has not flesh and bones, as ye see me have."

* Recita Johannis testationem : Quod vidimus, inquit, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de sermone vitæ. Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum et aurium et manuum sensus natura mentitur. [Ibid.]

† Cap. 18. Videtur intellectus duce uti sensu, et auctore et principali fundamento, nec sine illo veritates posse contingi. [Ibid. p. 278.]

‡ De Vera Relig. cap. 33. [ut supra, vol. i. p. 1240.] Ne ipsi quidem oculi fallunt ; non enim renunciare possunt animo nisi affectionem suam.—Si quis remum frangi in aqua opinatur, et cum inde aufertur integrari, non habet malum internuncium, sed malus est judex. Nam ille pro natura sua non potuit aliter in aqua sentire, nec aliter debuit. Si enim aliud est aer, aliud aqua, justum est ut aliter in aere, aliter in aqua sentiatur. Quare oculus rectè videt ; ad hoc enim factus est ut tantum videat : sed animus perverse judicat, &c.

§ In Psal. 137. Tollit stultissimam eorum temeritatem, qui frustrato falsoque corpore Dominum in carne visum esse contendunt ; ut eum Pater ementita veritate in habitu falsæ carnis ostenderit ; non recordantes post resurrectionem corporis spiritum se videre credentibus Apostolis dictum esse, Quid conturbati, &c. videte manus et pedes meos, quoniam ipse ego sum, palpite et videte, quoniam spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere. [p. 558. Veron. 1730.]

Epiphanius* is very large in arguing the truth of Christ's body, from what was sensibly done to his body; and if he argues truly, then what is sensibly done to the bread in the eucharist, proves the truth of bread remaining, and not only the appearance of it.

He asks Marcion,† “How could he be taken and crucified, if, according to thy saying, he could not be handled?—For thou canst not define him to be a phantom, whom thou confessest to fall under the touch.”

Again he argues,‡ “That Christ had a true body, because he went into the Pharisee's house and sat down. That which sits down, is a bulky body.”

And when the woman washed his feet with her tears, he adds,§ “Not the feet of a phantom. And kissed them, perceiving his body by her touch. And, what feet did she kiss, but the feet made up of flesh and bones, and other parts?”

So again,|| the woman that touched Christ and was healed, “She did not touch air, but something human that might be touched.”

Again:¶ “An imaginary thing, or wind, or a spirit or phantom, admits neither of burial nor a resurrection. But why may not a phantom as well be buried and raised, as accidents be broken and distributed, when no bread remains.”

Again, he observes,** from that of his kneeling down and praying, that all this was done ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, because his disciples saw him,†† “and he was found to his disciples under their touch.”

So also concerning Christ's crucifixion, he observes,‡‡ that the piercing his hands and feet with nails, and handling of them to do it, could not be δόκησις καὶ φάντασμα, “an imagination or show.” But if the Church of Rome say true, he is out;

* Hæres. 42. [p. 302, &c. vol. 1. Colon. 1682.]

† Ibid. Refut. 4. Πῶς συλληφθεὶς σταυροῦται, ὃ μὴ ὑπ' ἀφὴν ὑποπίπτων κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον;—οὐ γὰρ δύνασαι φαντασίαν ὀρίζειν τὸν ὑστερον ὑπ' ἀφὴν πίπτοντα δεικνύμενον. [p. 323.]

‡ Ibid. Refut. 10 et 11. Σῶμα ὀγκηρὸν τὸ κατακείμενον. [p. 325.]

§ Οὐ φαντασίας πόδας. Τῆς ἀφῆς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθανομένη. [Ibid.]

|| Ibid. Refut. 14. Οὐκ ἄερος ἦψατο, ἀλλ' ἀφῆς ἀνθρώπειας. [p. 327.]

¶ Ibid. Refut. 16. Δόκησις δὲ ἢ ἄνεμος, ἢ πνεῦμα, ἢ φαντασία, κηδεῖαν καὶ ταφὴν οὐκ ἀνεδέχετο καὶ ἀνάστασιν. [p. 327.]

** Refut. 65. [Ibid. p. 345.]

†† Ὑπ' ἀφὴν τοῖς μαθηταῖς εὕρισκόμενος. [Ibid.]

‡‡ Ibid. Refut. 71. [p. 347.]

for it is only *δόκησις* and a phantom, when I chew and fasten my teeth in the host, there being no substance that I bite.

He afterwards challenges Marcion from that expression,* “He was known in breaking of bread. How,” says he,† “was this breaking of bread performed? Was it by a phantom, or from a body bulky,‡ and really acting it?”

Here I may well observe, that if the very breaking of bread argues a true body that did perform that thing; how much more forcible is our question to the Romanists, What means the mention of bread broken in the eucharist (as Christ is said to break bread), if nothing be broken at all but only in show and appearance?

Epiphanius also elsewhere says,§ when Christ shewed them to Moses and Elias in the mount, “He did not present an image or a phantom, as intending to deceive his Apostles; but shewed what they were really.”

Athanasius says,|| “Christ did both eat meat, and permitted his body to be touched by his disciples, that not only their eyes, but also their fingers might be brought in for witnesses of the truth; so removing all suspicion of a phantom or ghostly appearance.”

St. Chrysostom¶ brings in Christ saying thus: “It is not my way to mock or abuse mine with a false appearance. If the sight is afraid of a vain image, the hands and fingers may find out the truth of my body. Perhaps some mist may deceive the eyes; but a corporal touch owns a body.”

Also elsewhere,** speaking of seeing and hearing, he says, “By these senses we learn all things exactly, and seem teachers worthy of credit, concerning such things which we receive by our sight or hearing, seeing we neither feign, nor speak falsely.”

* Ibid. Refut. 77. Πόθεν ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου ἐγένετο. [p. 349.]

† Ὑπὸ φαντασίας. [Ibid.]

‡ Ἐνεργοῦντος ὀγκηροῦ κατ’ ἀλήθειαν. [Ibid.]

§ Hæres. 64. sec. 36. Οὐκ εἶδωλον ἢ φάντασμα τοὺς Ἀποστόλους βουλόμενος ἀπατᾶν, ἀλλ’ ὃ ἦσαν ἀψευδῶς. [Ibid. p. 559.]

|| Orat. 2. de Ascen. Christi. Λύσας τῆς φαντασίας τὴν ὑποψίαν. [vol. 2. p. 6. Heidelb. 1600.]

¶ De Resurrect. Hom. 9. Lat. Paris. 1588. tom. 3. pag. 775. Non est meum meos ludificare phantasmate; vanam imaginem visus si timet, veritatem corporis manus et digitus exploret. Potest fortasse aliqua oculos caligo decipere, palpatio corporalis verum corpus agnoscat.

** Hom. 29. in Joan. Διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τούτων ἡμεῖς πάντα μανθάνομεν ἀκριβῶς, καὶ ἀξιόπιστοι δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διδάσκαλοι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ ὥψι παραλάβωμεν, ἢ ἀκοῇ δεξώμεθα. [vol. 8. p. 197. Par. 1836.]

But lest any one should pretend, that the eucharist is a mystery, and that in such things our senses may impose on us, and deceive us, it is very remarkable how this Father distinguishes betwixt them.

He tells us* wherein deception does consist, *viz.* “When a thing does not appear to be what it is, but appears to be what it is not.” But he makes a mystery to be another thing,† *viz.* “when we see not what we believe, but see one thing, and believe another thing: for this,” says he, “is the nature of our mysteries.”

St. Austin‡ makes the concurrent testimony of sense, especially that of feeling, to give sufficient assurance to us. Thus he says: “There is no cause to doubt of Christ’s resurrection, whose presence the eye does own, the hand handles, and the fingers examine.—If we perhaps should say, that Thomas’s eyes were deceived, yet we cannot say so of his hands; for in clearing the resurrection, doubt may be made of the sight, but no doubt can be made of feeling.”

Again elsewhere:§ “Who but devils, that are friends to cozenage, could persuade them, that Christ deceived men, when he suffered, when he died, and when he shewed his scars?”

Again:|| “This, which is like magic, ye are said to assert, that Christ’s passion and death was only in appearance, and

* Hom. 13. in Ep. ad Ephes. “Ὅταν τί ἐστὶ μὴ φαίνεται, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ μὴ ἐστὶ δείκνυται [Ibid. vol. 11. p. 111.]

† Hom. 7. in 1 ad Cor. Μυστήριον καλεῖται, ὅτι οὐχ ὅπερ ὁρῶμεν πιστεύομεν, ἀλλ’ ἕτερα ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἕτερα πιστεύομεν· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμῶν φύσις, &c. [Ibid. vol. 10. p. 59.]

‡ Serm. de Temp. 161. Cujus præsentiam agnoscat oculus, attrectet manus, digitus perscrutetur.—Si fortè diceremus, Thomæ oculos fuisse deceptos, at non possemus dicere manus frustratas; in resurrectionis enim manifestatione de aspectu ambigi potest, de tactu non potest dubitari. [vol. 5. p. 2779. Par. 1838.]

§ Contra Faustum, l. 14. c. 10. Qui nisi Dæmones, quibus amica fallacia est, istis persuaderent, Quod Christus fallaciter passus, fallaciter mortuus sit, fallaciter cicatrices ostenderit? [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 434.]

|| Ibid. l. 29. c. 2. Illud est quod Magiæ simile dicimini asserere, quod passionem mortemque ejus specie tenus factam et fallaciter dicitis adumbratam, ut mori videretur, qui non moriebatur. Ex quo fit, ut ejus quoque resurrectionem umbraticam, imaginariam fallacemque dicatis. Neque enim ejus, qui non verè mortuus est, vera esse resurrectio potest: ita fit, ut et cicatrices discipulis dubitantibus falsas ostenderit, nec Thomas veritate confirmatus, sed fallacia deceptus clamaret, Dominus meus, et Deus meus, &c. [Ibid. p. 679.]

in a deceitful shadow; so that he seemed to die, when he did not die. Whence it follows, that you must assert also his resurrection to be in show, imaginary and fallacious. For he cannot be truly raised, who did not truly die: and if so, then he shewed false scars to his doubting disciples; neither did Thomas cry out, My Lord and my God, because he was confirmed in the truth, but because he was deceived by a cheat."

Suitably to which, he asserts in another place:* "If the body of Christ was a phantom, Christ deceived us; and if he deceive us, he is not the truth. But Christ is the truth; therefore the body of Christ was not a fantastical body."

Now against all these plain testimonies, I know only one objection can be made, which we are to consider, *viz.*

Objection. That some of the Fathers call upon us not to believe our senses, nor to regard their information; and that particularly they do so in the case of the eucharist.

To this objection, I shall give these satisfactory answers.

Ans. 1. It is certain, that the Fathers appeal to our senses even in the matter of the eucharist. We have seen instances before, particularly in Tertullian; to which let me add one remarkable testimony out of St. Austin:† "This which you see upon God's altar, you were shewn last night; but you have not yet heard what it is, what it meaneth, and of how great a thing it is a sacrament. That which you see, is bread and the cup; thus much your own eyes inform you," &c. He appeals to their eyes, you see, as to the elements before them, and supposes, that when they tell them there is bread and a cup, they were not deceived. But then he informs them of that which their senses could not be judge of, because not an object of them, which was understood by the bread and the cup, as we shall hear afterwards.

Ans. 2. The Fathers call upon men not to regard the information of their senses, in matters wherein yet none questions the truth and certainty of their information. Therefore, this is no argument to question the truth of what our senses in-

* Lib. 83. Quæstion. Quæst. 14. Si phantasma fuit corpus Christi, fefellit Christus: et si fallit, veritas non est. Est autem veritas Christus; non igitur phantasma fuit corpus ejus. [Ibid. vol. 6. p. 29.]

† Serm. ad recen. Baptizat. apud Fulgentium, Bedam, &c. Hoc quod videtis in altari Dei, etiam transacta nocte vidistis: sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnæ rei Sacramentum contineret, nondum audistis. Quod ergo videtis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciunt, &c. [Serm. 272. Ibid. vol. 5. p. 1613.]

form us of in the eucharist, because they would not have us to regard them.

Thus Cyril of Jerusalem,* speaking of holy chrism: "Take heed you do not think," says he, "this to be mere simple ointment." Sense indeed reaches no further than that; but then, comparing chrism with the eucharist (which is not to be looked upon as common bread after consecration), he adds,† "We are to look upon this holy ointment not as bare and common ointment, after consecration; but as the grace of Christ," &c.

So also he says of baptism:‡ "Come not to the font as to simple and mere water, but to the spiritual grace that is given together with the water."§ And a little after, "Being," says he, "about to descend into the water, do not attend to the simpleness of the water." And yet, for all this, he never intended to deny it to be true water.

Gelasius Cyzic.:|| "We are not to consider our baptism with sensitive, but with intellectual eyes."

Or, as St. Austin says:¶ "You ought not to make an estimate of those waters with your eyes, but with your mind."

Thus also St. Ambrose,** speaking of baptism: "As to what thou hast seen, to wit, the waters, and not those alone, but Levites there ministering, and the bishop asking questions, and consecrating; first of all, the Apostle has taught thee, that we are not to look upon the things that are seen, but on the things which are not seen, &c. Do not therefore only believe thy bodily eyes: that is rather seen, which is not

* Catech. Mystag. 3. "Ὁρα μὴ ὑπονοήσης ἐκείνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι. [p. 316. Venet. 1763]

† Καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔστι ψιλόν, οὐδὲ κοινὸν μετ' ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, &c. [Ibid. p. 317.]

‡ Idem Catech. Illum. 3. Μὴ ὡς ὕδατι λιτῶ πρόσελθε τῷ λουτρῶ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος διδομένῃ πνευματικῇ χάριτι. [Ibid. p. 40.]

§ Μὴ τῷ ψιλῷ τοῦ ὕδατος πρόσσεχε, &c. [Ibid. p. 41.]

|| Diatypos. c. 4. Τὸ βάπτισμα ἡμῶν οὐ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κατανοητέον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νοηοῖς.

¶ Serm. 2. in Append. Sermon. 40. à Sirmondo Editor. Non debetis aquas illas oculis æstimare, sed mente.

** De his qui initiantur. c. 3. Quod vidisti aquas utique, sed non solas, Levitas illic ministrantes, summum Sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem: Primo omnium docuit te Apostolus, non ea contemplanda nobis quæ videntur, sed quæ non videntur, &c. Non ergo solis corporis tui oculis credas. Magis videtur quod non videtur, quia istud temporale, illud æternum aspicitur, quod oculis non comprehenditur, animo autem et mente cernitur. [vol. 2. p. 327. Par. 1690.]

seen ; because that is temporal, this is eternal, which is not comprehended by our eyes, but is seen by our mind and understanding."

St. Chrysostom,* speaking also of baptism, thus breaks out : " Let us believe God's affirmation, for this is more faithful than our sight ; for our sight often is deceived, that is impossible to fall to the ground."

It is so frequent an expression of St. Chrysostom, " that God's word is more to be credited than our eyes," that he applies it not only to the sacraments, but even to the case of almsgiving : for thus he says :† " Let us be so affected when we give alms to the poor, as if we gave them to Christ himself : for his words are more sure than our sight. Therefore when thou seest a poor man, remember the words whereby Christ signified, that he himself is fed. For though what is seen is not Christ, yet under this shape he receives thy alms, and asks it."

Answ. 3. The Fathers in the matter of signs and sacraments therefore call upon us not to listen to our senses, and credit them, because, in such cases, they would have us to consider things beyond and above their information ; such as relate to their use and efficacy ; these being spiritual things signified by what is visible, wherein they place the mystery, and which sense can neither discover nor judge of.

St. Austin has a rule‡ in this case : " I say this, treating of signs ; in which none ought to attend to what they are, but rather that they are signs, that is, that they signify. For a sign is a thing, which besides what appears affecting the senses, does of itself make somewhat else to come into our thoughts."

So also Origen § describes a sign to be a note of another thing besides that which the sense gives testimony to.

* In Joan. Hom. 24. Πειθώμεθα τοίνυν τῇ ἀποφάσει τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅψεως γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ πιστοτέρα ἢ μὲν γὰρ ὅψις πολλαχοῦ καὶ σφάλλεται, ἡ κείνην δὲ ἀμυχανὸν διαπεσεῖν. [ut supra, vol. 8. p. 168.]

† Hom. 89. in Matth. Τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁψεως ἡμῶν πιστότερα. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον οὐκ ἐστὶ Χριστός, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι αὐτὸς λαμβάνει καὶ προσαιτεῖ. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 936.]

‡ De Doctr. Christ. 1. 2. c. 1. De signis differens, hoc dico, ne quis in eis attendat quod sunt, sed potius quod signa sunt, id est, quod significant. Signum est enim res, præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire. [vol. 3. p. 41. Par. 1836.]

§ In Joan. tom. 18. [tom. 13.] ad finem. Σύμβολον ἐτέρου, παρὰ τὸ αἰσθητῶς γεγενημένον. [vol. 4. p. 279. Par. 1759.]

But none has so fully declared this matter, and answered the former objection, as St. Chrysostom, in the place fore-cited, whose words deserve to be set down at large.* Where treating of baptism, the eucharist, and other mysteries, after he has told us (as we heard before) what a mystery is, *viz.* “when we do not merely believe what we see, but see one thing and believe another,” he goes on thus :

“I and an infidel are diversely affected with them. I hear that Christ was crucified, I presently admire his benignity : he hears the same, and he counts it infirmity. I hear that he was made a servant, and I admire his care : he, when he hears the same, counts it infamy.” And so he goes on with his death and resurrection, and the different judgment is made of them, and proceeds to speak of the sacraments : † “The infidel, hearing of the laver (of baptism) esteems it simply water ; but I do not merely look upon what I see, but regard the cleansing of the soul by the Spirit. He thinks that my body only is washed ; but I believe that my soul is made clean and holy ; I reckon the burial, resurrection, sanctification, righteousness, redemption, adoption of sons, the inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, the supply of the Spirit. ‡ For, I do not judge of the things that appear by my sight, but by the eyes of my mind. I hear of the body of Christ. I understand what is said, one way ; an infidel another.” Which he further illustrates admirably thus : “As children looking upon books, know not the power of letters, understand not what they look upon ; nay, even to a grown man that is unlearned, it will be the same, when a man of skill will find out much hidden virtue, lives, and histories contained therein. And if one of no skill receive a letter, he will judge it only to be paper and ink ; but he that has skill hears an absent person speak, and discourses with him, and speaks what he pleases again to him by letters. § Just thus it is in a mystery ; unbelievers hearing, seem not to

* In 1 Cor. Hom. 7. Edit. Savil. tom. 3. p. 280. “Ἐτερα ὁρῶμεν καὶ ἕτερα πιστεύομεν. [vol. 10. p. 59. Par. 1836.]

† Ἀκούων λουτρὸν ἐκεῖνος, ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ νομίζει· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τὸ ὁρῶμενον ἀπλῶς βλέπω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρμὸν τὸν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, &c. [Ibid.]

‡ Οὐ γὰρ τῇ ὀψει κρίνω τὰ φαινόμενα ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας· ἀκούω σῶμα Χριστοῦ· ἑτέρως ἐγὼ νοῶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἑτέρως ὁ ἄπιστος. [Ibid.]

§ Οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου γίνεται· οἱ μὲν ἄπιστοι καὶ τοίγε ἀκούοντες, οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἀκούειν· οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες ἐμπειρίαν, ὁρῶσι τῶν ἐναποκειμένων τὴν δύναμιν. [Ibid. p. 60.]

hear; but the believers, being taught skill by the Spirit, perceive the power of the hidden things."

This discourse of St. Chrysostom's explains a place in St. Cyril of Jerusalem,* and teaches us how to understand it: where speaking of the eucharist, he says, "Do not consider it as bare bread and wine; for it is the body and blood of Christ, according to our Lord's affirmation. And although sense suggests this to thee, let faith confirm thee. Do not judge of the matter by thy taste; but by faith be undoubtedly persuaded, that thou art honoured with the body and blood of Christ."

And afterwards:† "Being fully persuaded, that the visible bread is not bread, though the taste perceive it such, but the body of Christ; and the visible wine is not wine, though the taste would have it so, but the blood of Christ."

All which must be only understood of the sacramental relation that the bread and wine have to the body and blood of Christ, which the sense of tasting acquaints us nothing at all with, and therefore is not a fit judge of this; but we are to believe, and not doubt of its truth.

It will also help us to understand another place of St. Chrysostom,‡ (Homil. 83. in Matth.) where he bids us, "Believe God every where, without contradicting him, though what he says seems contrary to our reasonings, and to our eyes; but let his word prevail above our reasonings and our eyes. Let us do the same in the mysteries, not fixing our eyes only upon the things set before us, but let us hold fast his words: for his word cannot deceive us; but our sense easily may: that can never fall to the ground; but this often fails. Since therefore the word says,§ This is my body, let us be

* Catech. 4. Mystag. Μὴ πρόσεχε ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτι καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ· σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν τυγχάνει ἀπόφασιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ αἴσθησίς σοι τοῦτο ὑποβάλλει, ἀλλ' ἡ πίστις βεβαίωται μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς γένσεως κρίνῃς τὸ πρᾶγμα, &c. [ut supra, p. 321.]

† Πληροφορηθεῖς, ὡς ὁ φαινόμενος ἄρτος, οὐκ ἄρτος ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τῇ γεύσει αἰσθητὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος οἶνος, οὐκ οἶνός ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ ἡ γεῦσις τοῦτο βούλεται, ἀλλὰ αἷμα Χριστοῦ. [Ibid. p. 322.]

‡ Πειθώμεθα πανταχοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγωμεν, κἄν ἐναντίον εἶναι δοκῇ τοῖς ἡμετέροις λογισμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ὕψει τὸ λεγόμενον, &c. [ut supra, vol. 7. p. 889.]

§ Οὐ τοῖς κειμένοις μόνον ἐμβλέποντες, ἀλλὰ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ κατέχωμεν, &c. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ λόγος φησὶ, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, καὶ πειθώμεθα, καὶ πιστεύωμεν, καὶ νοητοῖς αὐτὸ βλέπωμεν ὀφθαλμοῖς·

persuaded of it and believe it, and look upon it with intellectual eyes : for Christ has given us nothing sensible, but in sensible things all things intelligible. Thus in baptism, by what is sensibly done, there is the gift of water ; but what is perfected, is intelligible, *viz.* our regeneration and renovation.”

If the reader does but remember that baptism is as much concerned in this discourse of St. Chrysostom, as the eucharist ; and that we are as much required not to trust our eyes, that may deceive us, but to trust the word of God in the one case as well as the other ; it will not give the least countenance to the absurdities of transubstantiation.

And as for those words of his, “that Christ delivered nothing sensible to us,” they must be understood with an abatement, that we are not to be intent and to fix our thoughts merely upon what we see ; for else it is certain, that there is something sensible delivered in the eucharist, else there would be no sign nor no sacrament ; and that Father would contradict himself, who in the very next words tells us, that “by sensible things he has delivered intelligible” (that is spiritual) “things to us ;” for which he brings what is bestowed upon us in baptism as a proof.

CHAP. VII.

THE SEVENTH DIFFERENCE.

When the Fathers call the Eucharist Christ's body and blood, the Roman Church understands it of Christ's natural body given there. But the Fathers do not so ; but understand it most commonly of the elements of bread and wine, even when they call them the body of Christ, and give us the reasons why they so call them.

I NEED not tell you, how the Romish writers catch at every place of the Fathers where they meet with the mention of Christ's body and blood ; all their citations are full of little else but testimonies of this kind.

But if they had a mind to understand their sense, and did

οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσθητὸν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλ' αἰσθητοῖς μὲν πράγμασι παντὰ τὰ νοητά· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι δι' αἰσθητοῦ μὲν πράγματος γίνεται τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ δῶρον, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον, ἢ γένησις καὶ ἀνακαίνωσις. [Ibid.]

not merely listen to the sound of their words, they would quickly see them interpret themselves, so that there could be no mistake, nor countenance given hereby to transubstantiation, or any pretence of Christ but what is spiritual. Which by a few observations out of them will appear.

1. *Observation.* The Fathers give us warning of it, and tell us, that they studiously conceal and hide the mysteries from some persons, both out of the Church, and in it. Therefore their mere expressions concerning it are not sufficient to inform us of their meaning.

Thus Cyril of Jerusalem tells us,* “That we do not speak openly of the mysteries among the catechumens, but often speak many things covertly, that the faithful that are acquainted with the matter may understand it, and they that are unacquainted may not be hurt.”

St. Austin in like manner:† “What is it that is hidden and not public in the Church? The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the eucharist. The very Pagans see our good works, but the sacraments are hid from them.”

St. Chrysostom (upon those words,‡ “Why are they then baptized for the dead”) says, “I have a mind to speak it openly, but I dare not, because of them that are not initiated. For they make our exposition more difficult, compelling us either not to speak plainly, or to declare to them things that ought to be concealed.”

Upon this account they concealed what was apt to be despised (whether they did well or no in this, I shall not here question), scarce vouchsafing to name the visible elements, but mentioning them with more glorious titles, such as could not be disregarded. Thus they called baptism by the name of *φωτισμός*, illumination; and they called the eucharist, the sacrifice, *quod norunt fideles*, which the faithful know (thus concealing it), or the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. They call the Lord’s table an altar, and the ministers priests,

* Catech. Illum. 6. pag. 149. Edit. 4. Paris. 1608. Ἀλλὰ πολλά πολλά λέγεται ἐπιτελεσθέντων, &c.

† In Psal. 103. Quid est quod occultum est, et non publicum in Ecclesia? Sacramentum Baptismi, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ. Opera nostra bona vident et Pagani, Sacramenta vero occultantur illis. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 1626.]

‡ In 1 Cor. 15. Hom. 40. Οὐ τολμῶ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀμύητους, ἢ μὴ λέγειν σαφῶς, ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. [ut supra, vol. 10. p. 441.]

though all these are to be understood in a figurative and improper sense.

Thus St. Austin says,* “Almost all call the sacrament the body of Christ.” Which very phrase shews that the sacrament is not in substance Christ’s natural body. For who would phrase it so, “almost all call it,” in giving a proper name to a thing? *ex. gr.* would any say, that almost all call a house a house, or a man a man? But to say, that almost all call kings gods, tells you, that however for certain reasons kings are called gods, yet they are not really and properly so.

The same Father,† speaking of several things whereby Christ may be signified and set forth, either by words written or spoken, &c. he says, “We do not call these the body and blood of Christ, but that only, which being taken from the fruits of the earth, is rightly received by us to our spiritual health,” &c.

If the other things had been called so, any one would have understood it must be improperly so called, and so must this too, as his following words tell us, ‡ “that even this is not sanctified to become so great a sacrament, but by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God.”

So Isidore of Seville§ gives the same account: “By the command of Christ, we call the body and blood of Christ that which being made of the fruits of the earth, is sanctified and made a sacrament by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God.”

2. *Observ.* The Fathers oftentimes in their very manner of speaking concerning the body and blood of Christ, point at another thing than his natural body; so that we need no commentary upon their words to explain them, for they carry at first hearing our sense and meaning in them, and not that of the Romanists. To give a few instances.

* De Verb. Dom. Serm. 53. Penè quidem Sacramentum omnes corpus ejus dicunt. [vol. 5. p. 2038. Par. 1838.]

† De Trinit. 1. 3. c. 4.—Sed illud tantum quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum et prece mystica consecratum, ritè sumimus ad salutem spirituale, &c. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 1225.]

‡ Non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum Sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei. [Ibid.]

§ Orig. lib. 6. cap. 19. Eo (sc. Christo) jubente, corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus, quod dum fit ex fructibus terræ, sanctificatur, et fit Sacramentum, operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei. [p. 52. col. 1. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

St. Cyprian,* discoursing against those that consecrated and drank only water in the sacrament, says, "When Christ says, I am the true vine, the blood of Christ it is plain is not water but wine. So neither can the Lord's body be flour alone, or water alone, unless both of them be united, and coupled and kneaded together into one loaf."

Where nobody can doubt of St. Cyprian's meaning, that by Christ's body he understands not his natural body, but the sacrament of it.

And so the Council of Carthage† decreed against the Armenians (who made use of wine only in the eucharist), "That nothing shall be offered but the body and blood of Christ, as the Lord himself delivered it" (the phrase carries its sense in the face of it, if they had said no more, but they add), "that is, bread and wine mixed with water."

What can be more plain than that of Theodoret,‡ when he says, "That our Saviour changed the names, and on his body he put the name of the sign (or symbol) and on the sign the name of his body?" A little before he shews how: "You know," says he, "that God called his body bread, and elsewhere he called his flesh wheat (σῖτον), Except a corn of wheat fall to the earth and die, Matth. xii. But in the delivery of the mysteries he called bread his body, and that which is mixed (κρᾶμα) blood." Is it not clear that neither in one case nor the other these sayings are to be understood properly but figuratively? Especially when Theodoret, before all I now have cited, makes this comparison: § "As after consecration we call the mystical fruit of the vine the Lord's blood; so he (Jacob) called the blood of the true vine, the blood of the grape." Both the one and the other must be figuratively understood.

* Epist. 63. ad Cæcilium. Cùm dicat Christus, ego sum vitis vera, sanguis Christi non aqua est utique sed vinum—Quomodo nec Corpus Domini potest esse farina sola, aut aqua sola, nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit et copulatum, et panis unius compagine solidatum. [p. 225. Venet. 1728.]

† Pandect. Canon. p. 565. Μηδὲν πλέον τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου προσενεχθεῖν, ὡς Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος παρέδωκεν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου ὕδατι μεμιγμένον.

‡ Dialog. 1. Τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα· τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος, &c. [vol. 4. p. 26. Hal. 1772.]

§ Ib. "Ὡσπερ τὸν μυστικὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν αἶμα δεσποτικὸν ὀνομάζομεν, οὕτω τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀμπέλου τὸ αἶμα σταφυλῆς ὠνόμασεν αἶμα. [p. 25.]

When St. Cyprian in the forecited epistle* says, “that some might make it an objection that by partaking of the communion early in the morning, they might be discovered to the heathen persecutors by the smell of the wine,” he expresses it thus : “One fears this, lest by tasting wine he should smell of Christ’s blood.”

St. Jerome has such another saying, which cannot well be mistaken to express any other sense but ours, when speaking of virgins† that were reprov’d for drinking wine to excess, he says, “They made this excuse (joining sacrilege to their drunkenness) and said, ‘God forbid that I should abstain from the blood of Christ.’”

Either they said nothing to the purpose, or they took that which they called the blood of Christ, for wine properly.

Thus also St. Chrysostom,‡ speaking of the rudeness of the soldiers in the church, says, that in the tumult, “the most holy blood of Christ was shed upon the soldiers’ clothes.” Which could be nothing but sacramental wine.

Leo the Great, speaking of the Manichees, that for fear of the laws came to the communion of the Catholics, and directing how to discover them, he says,§ “They so behave themselves in the communion of the sacraments that they may sometime be more safely concealed ; with an unworthy mouth they take the body of Christ, but altogether decline drinking the blood of our redemption.”

In the sense both of Leo and the Manichees the body and blood here must be taken figuratively ; for such bad men as they, in the sense of the ancients, could not eat, or any way receive Christ’s body in a proper sense, but being understood of the type of it, *viz.* of the sacramental bread that they would receive ; but not the type of his blood, *viz.* the wine, because, as St. Austin|| observes, “they drink no wine, saying, it is the

* Epist. 63. Hoc quis veretur, ne per saporem vini redoleat sanguinem Christi. [ut supra, p. 230.]

† Epist. ad Eustochium. Ebrietati sacrilegium copulantes aiunt, Absit ut ego me abstineam à sanguine Christi. [vol. 1. p. 96. Veron. 1734.]

‡ Epist. 1. ad Innocent. Τὸ ἁγιότατον αἷμα Χριστοῦ εἰς τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἱμάτια ἐξεχέϊτο. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 618.]

§ Serm. 4. de Quadrages. Ita in Sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tutius lateant ; Ore indigno Christi Corpus accipiunt, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omninò declinant. [vol. 1. p. 161. Venet. 1753.]

|| De Hæres. 46. Vinum non bibunt, dicentes fel esse principum tenebrarum. [ut supra, vol. 8. p. 51.]

gall of the Prince of Darkness.” They had no more prejudice against the blood than the body of Christ, only they took it to be wine, which they abhorred.

3. *Observ.* The Fathers speak of Christ’s body and blood in the eucharist with such terms of restriction and diminution which plainly tell us, that they understood it not of his substantial and natural body, but in a figurative sense. Thus,

Origen says,* “That bread in the eucharist is made by prayer a certain holy body.”

And St. Austin:† “Christ took in his hands what the faithful understand, and after a sort, carried himself when he said, This is my body.”

Bede,‡ upon the same Psalm, has the same term of restriction, “Christ, after a sort, was carried in his own hands.”

St. Austin elsewhere,§ “In a certain sense the sacrament of the body of Christ is Christ’s body; and the sacrament of the blood of Christ, is Christ’s blood.” Just as at Easter we say, “This day Christ rose,” because it is a memorial of it.

St. Chrysostom|| says of the consecrated bread, “that it has no longer the name of bread (though the nature of it remains), but is counted worthy to be called the Lord’s body.”

Theodoret, in like manner:¶ “He honoured the visible symbols with the appellation of his body and blood.”

Facundus Hermian.** is most express: “We call,” says he, “the sacrament of his body and blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, his body and blood; not that properly the bread is his body, and the cup his blood,” &c.

So also is St. Chrysostom†† in another place; where he shews that the word flesh is not always taken for the φύσις σώματος,

* Contr. Celsum l. 8. p. 399. Edit. Cantabr. [1658.] Σῶμα ἁγίον τι.

† In Psal. 33. conc. 2. Accepit in manus quod norunt fideles, et ipse se portabat quodammodo, cū diceret, Hoc est Corpus meum. [vol. 4. p. 308. Par. 1835.]

‡ In Psal. 33. Christus quodammodo ferebatur in manibus suis. [vol. 8. p. 471. Colon. Agr. 1688.]

§ Epist. 23. ad Bonifac. Secundum quendam modum Sacramentum Corporis Christi, Corpus Christi est; Sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est. [vol. 2. p. 400. Par. 1836.]

|| Epist. ad Cæsarium. Dignus habitus est Dominici Corporis appellatione.

¶ Dialog. 1. τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορία τετίμηκεν. [ut supra, p. 26.]

** In Defens. 3. capit. l. 9.—Non quod propriè Corpusejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis, &c.

†† In Gal. 5. 17. vol. 3. Savil. p. 755. [ut supra, vol. 10. p. 854.]

the nature and substance of the body (which is the only proper sense), and he gives other instances which are improper,* as that flesh signifies a depraved will. And adds two other improper senses, in these words,† “By the name of flesh, the Scripture is wont also to call the mysteries;” he adds also, that it calls the Church so, when it calls it the body of Christ.

The very phrase of being *wont to call* shews that of which it is affirmed to be improperly so called, as the phrase of “being thought worthy of the name” (as we heard before) argues the name not properly to agree to it.

4. *Observ.* The Fathers, knowing that the eucharist was not in a proper sense Christ’s body, give us several reasons why it is called his body. But nobody uses to give a reason why he calls a thing by its proper name. I shall not name all the reasons here, but reserve some to another place; when we consider the sacrament as a sign, figure, type, memorial, &c.

1. One reason they give is from its likeness and resemblance, either in respect of what it consists of, or from the likeness of its effects.

St. Austin’s saying is remarkable:‡ “If the sacraments had not a resemblance of those things of which they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all: but from this resemblance they take commonly the name even of the things themselves which they resemble.”

Bede also gives§ the same reason in his commentary on the Romans.

The author of the Book of Sacraments under St. Ambrose’s name, speaks thus: || “Thou mayst say, perhaps, I do not see the substance of blood. Well, but it has its likeness. For as thou hast received the likeness of his death, so thou drinkest the likeness of his precious blood.”

St. Cyprian:¶ “When Christ called bread, made up of many

* Τὴν πονηρὰν προαίρεσιν. [Ibid.]

† Καὶ τὰ μυστήρια καλεῖν εἰώθη ἡ γραφή. [Ibid.]

‡ Epist. 23. Si Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum non habent, quarum Sacramenta sunt, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. [ut supra, p. 400.]

§ In cap. 6. Epist. ad Roman.

|| Lib 4. c. 4. Fortè dicis, speciem sanguinis non video. Sed habet similitudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis, &c. [vol. 2. p. 370. Par. 1690.]

¶ Epist. 76. ad Magnum. Quando Dominus Corpus suum panem vocat, de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum

united grains of corn, his body, he shewed the unity of Christian people whom he bore; and when he called wine pressed out of many grapes and put together, his blood, he signified also the uniting of a multitude of the Christian flock together."

So Rabanus Maurus:* "Therefore our Lord commended his body and blood in those things, which consisting of many grains or grapes, are brought together into one, whereby he might signify the unity of the charity of saints."

Others again from the likeness of its effects.

Thus Isidore of Seville:† "Bread, because it strengthens the body, is therefore called the body of Christ; and wine, because it produces blood in the flesh, is therefore referred to the blood of Christ."

The same reason is also given by Rabanus Maurus, in his commentary upon St. Matthew xxvi.

2nd reason. Another reason why they call the eucharist Christ's body, is, because it supplies the place, is instead of it, is its representative, its pledge and pawn.

Tertullian:‡ "His body is reputed to be in the bread, This is my body."

St. Austin:§ "See how the signs are varied, faith remaining the same. There (in the wilderness) the rock was Christ; to us that which is placed on God's altar is Christ."

Again elsewhere more fully:|| "All things intended to signify,

quem portabat indicat adunatum: et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat, de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatæ multitudinis copulatum. [ut supra, p. 318.]

* De Instit. Cleric. c. 31. Propterea Dominus noster Corpus et sanguinem suum in eis rebus commendavit, quæ ad unum aliquid rediguntur ex multis sive granis sive acinis, ut Sanctorum Charitatis unitatem significarent.

† De Offic. Eccles. l. 1. cap. 18. Panis quia confirmat Corpus, ideo Corpus Christi nuncupatur; vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. [p. 395. col. 1. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

‡ Lib. 6. de Orat. Corpus ejus in pane censetur, Hoc est corpus meum. [p. 131. Par. 1685.]

§ Tract. 45. in Joan. Videte, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi Petra Christus, nobis Christus quod in altari Dei ponitur. [vol. 3. p. 2132. Par. 1837.]

|| De Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 48. Quodammodo omnia significantia videntur rerum quas significant sustinere personas, sicut dictum est ab Apostolo, Petra erat Christus, quoniam Petra illa de qua hoc dictum est, significabat utique Christum. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 855.]

seem in a sort to sustain the persons of those things which they signify, as the Apostle says, The Rock was Christ, because that rock of which this is spoken did signify Christ."

Cyril of Jerusalem* says, "Wherefore with all assurance let us receive it (*viz.* the bread and wine) as the body and blood of Christ; for in the type of bread his body is given thee, and in the type of wine his blood."

Proclus of Constantinople:† "Instead of the manger let us venerate the altar; instead of the Infant let us embrace the bread that is blessed by the Infant (*viz.* Christ)."

Victor Antiochen.:‡ "When the Lord said, This is my body this is my blood, it was fit that they who set forth the bread, should, after giving of thanks, reckon it to be his body, and partake of it, and account the cup to be instead of his blood."

The author of the commentaries attributed to St. Jerome:§ "Christ left to us his last remembrance, just as if a person, taking a journey from home, should leave some pledge to one whom he loves, that as oft as he looked upon it, he might call to mind his kindnesses and friendships."

So also Amalarius:|| "Christ bowing his head gave up the ghost. The priest bows himself, and commends to God the Father this which is offered as a sacrifice in the place of Christ."

5. *Observ.* That although, for the reasons given, the Fathers call the sacrament Christ's body, yet they plainly say, that what is distributed in the eucharist is without any life or sense, which cannot be said of Christ's natural body.

Epiphanius:¶ "We see what our Saviour took in his hands (*viz.* bread), and having given thanks, said, This is mine, and that; and yet we see, that it is not equal to it nor like it,

* Catech. Mystag. 4.—'Ως σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ· ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου, &c. [p. 320. Venet. 1763.]

† Orat. 18.—'Αντὶ τοῦ βρέφους περιπτυσσόμεθα τὸν διὰ τοῦ βρέφους ἐυλογοῦμενον ἄρτον.

‡ In Marc. 14. Citante Bulingero adv. Casaub. Αὐτοῦ σῶμα νομίζειν. Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον ἐν τάξει αἵματος ἡγεῖσθαι.

§ In 1 Cor. 11. Ultimam nobis commemorationem sive memoriam dereliquit, quemadmodum si quis, peregrinè proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat, ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias memorare. [vol. 11. p. 932. Veron. 1742.]

|| De Offic. Eccles. 1. 3. c. 25. Edit. Hittorpil, p. 425. [Par. 1610.] Christus, inclinato capite, emisit spiritum. Sacerdos inclinat se, et hoc, quod vice Christi immolatum est, deo Patri commendat.

¶ In Anchorat. Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τόδε. — οὐκ ἴσον ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ὅμοιον, οὐ τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ εἰκόνι, οὐ τῇ ἀοράτῳ θεότητι, &c.—Στρογγυλοειδὲς καὶ ἀναίσθητον ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν.

not to the incarnate Image, not to the invisible Deity, not to the lineaments of members ; for this (the bread) is of a round form, and insensible as to any power."

Theophilus of Alexandria,* discoursing against Origen, who did not believe that the Holy Ghost did operate upon things inanimate, says, "He (Origen) does not remember, that the mystical waters in baptism are consecrated by the coming of the Holy Ghost, and that the Lord's bread, whereby the body of our Saviour is shewn, and which we break for our sanctification, and the holy cup, which are all placed upon the table of the church, and are indeed without life, yet are sanctified by the invocation and advent of the Holy Ghost."

St. Jerome,† commending the foresaid work, and admiring at the profit the churches would reap thereby, says, "That they who are ignorant, being instructed by Scripture testimonies, may learn, with what veneration they ought to meddle with holy things, and serve at the altar ; and that the holy chalices and holy veils, and the rest of the things that appertain to the celebration of our Lord's passion, are not to be looked upon as having no sanctity, as being without life and sense, but by reason that they accompany the body and blood of our Lord, are to be venerated with the same majestic regard, that his body and blood is."

6. *Observ.* That the Fathers speak of divisions and parts of the eucharist, which cannot be truly said of the natural body of Christ, which the Roman Church confesses to be impassible, but only of the sacramental bread and wine.

Cyprian:‡ "Another who was also defiled, the sacrifice being celebrated by the priest, was so bold as privily to take

* Epist. Paschal. 2. Non recogitat aquas in Baptismate mysticas adventu Sp. Sancti consecrari, panemque Dominicum, quo Salvatoris Corpus ostenditur, et quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostri, et S. calicem, quæ in mensa Ecclesiæ collocantur, et utique inanima sunt, per invocationem et adventum Spiritus S. sanctificari.

† Epist. ad Theoph. Alex. Ut discant qui ignorant eruditi testimoniis Scripturarum, qua debeant veneratione Sancta suscipere et altaris servitio deservire ; sacrosque calices et sancta velamina, et cætera quæ ad cultum pertinent Dominicæ Passionis, non quasi inanima et sensu carentia sanctioniam non habere, sed ex consortio corporis et sanguinis Domini, eadem qua Corpus ejus et Sanguis majestate veneranda. [ut supra, vol. 1. p. 753.]

‡ Lib. de Lapsis. Quidam alius et ipse maculatus, sacrificio à Sacerdote celebrato, partem cum cæteris ausus est latenter accipere, sanctum Domini edere et contrectare non potuit. [ut supra, p. 381.]

a part of it with others, but he could not eat and handle the holy (body) of the Lord.”

Clemens Alexandr.:* “When the bishop, according to custom, had divided the eucharist, they suffered every one of the people to take a portion of it.”

Origen† (if they be his genuine words) says, “When ye receive the Lord’s body, ye keep it with all caution and veneration, lest any little portion of it should fall down, lest any thing of the consecrated gift should slip down to the ground,” &c.

St. Basil,‡ shewing that they that have received the communion in the church may reserve it, and communicate themselves at home with their own hand, and that the practice was thus in Alexandria and Egypt; adds, “That when the priest has distributed the sacrifice,§ he that receives it whole, and takes daily a part of that which was so given him, ought to believe that he rightly receives it.—It is the same in virtue, whether a person receive a single part from the priest, or many parts together.”

St. Ambrose agrees with it, || speaking of the blood of Christ: “Whether thou takest,” says he, “a little, or drinkest a larger draught, there is the same perfect measure of redemption to all.”

So also St. Austin,¶ speaking of that upon the Lord’s table which is blessed and sanctified (which is bread), he says of it, “that it is broken into little parts to be distributed.” Which cannot be said of Christ’s proper body.

And elsewhere** his phrase concerning communicating is, “to take a part from the body of the immaculate Lamb.”

Also in another place, he says,†† “In receiving we know

* Strom. l. 1. —“Εκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν. [p. 318. Venet. 1757.]

† Hom. 13. in Exodum. Cum suscipitis Corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur, &c. [vol. 2. p. 176. col. 2. Par. 1733.]

‡ Epist. 289. ad Cæsarium. [vol. 3. p. 267. Par. 1839.]

§ Ταυτὸν τοίνυν ἐστὶ τῇ δυνάμει, εἴτε μίαν μερίδα δέξεται τις παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, εἴτε πολλὰς μερίδας ὁμοῦ. [Ibid. p. 268.]

|| Epist. 1. ad Justum. Etsi parum sumas, etsi plurimum haurias, eadem perfecta est omnibus mensura redemptionis. [ut supra, p. 779.]

¶ Epist. 59. ad Paulin.—Ad distribuendum comminuitur. [ut supra, vol. 2. p. 761.]

** Epist. 86. ad Casulanum. De agni immaculati corpore partem sumere. [Ibid. p. 115.]

†† De Verb. Dom. Serm. 33. In accipiendo novimus quid cogitemus. Modicum accipimus, et in corde saginamur. [Serm. 112. Ibid. vol. 5. p. 813.]

what we think. We receive a little portion, and are fatted at heart."

Cyril of Alexandria,* says, "The least part of the consecrated bread (which he calls the eulogy) mingles the whole body into itself, and fills it with its own energy; and thus both Christ is in us, and we again are in him."

Eusebius† tells the story of the presbyter, that when Serapion was a dying, sent him, by a boy, "a little bit of the eucharist."

And Prosper‡ has a like story of a possessed woman, "that received a short and small portion of our Lord's body."

And Pope Pius I. in an epistle attributed to him (and made use of by Bellarmine§) speaks of "some of the blood of Christ dropping and distilling on the ground," and directs what is to be done in that case.

7. *Observ.* The Fathers speak of making the body of Christ in the eucharist, in a sense quite different from that of the Romanists.

St. Jerome frequently uses the phrase of "making Christ's body," and speaking of the presbyters that succeeded to the Apostles, in one epistle,|| he says, "They make the body of Christ with their holy mouth."

And in another epistle¶ says of them, "That upon their prayers the body and blood of Christ is made."

Also in a third epistle** he describes a priest to be "One that mediates betwixt God and men, and one that makes the flesh of the Lamb with his holy mouth."

Here now they of the Church of Rome take care to advance the priesthood, though even with words of blasphemy.

* In Joan. 6. 57. Ὀλιγιστάτη εὐλογία σύμπαν ἡμῶν εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναφύρει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ἀναπληροῖ, οὕτω τε ἐν ἡμῖν γίνεται Χριστὸς, καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐν αὐτῷ. [vol. 4. p. 365. Lutet. 1638.]

† Eccles. Hist. l. 6. c. 36.—Βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας. [c. 44.] [p. 246. Par. 1659.]

‡ Dimidium temporis. c. 6.—Brevem portiunculam Corporis Domini.

§ De Euchar. l. 2. cap. 5. Si quid de sanguine Domini stillaverit in terram.

|| Epist. 1. ad Heliodor. Qui Christi Corpus Sacro ore conficiunt. [vol. 1. p. 33. Veron. 1734.]

¶ Ad Evagrium. Ad quorum preces Christi Corpus sanguisque conficitur.

** Ad Fabiolam. Sequester Dei et hominum, et carnes agni sacro ore conficiens. [Epist. 64. Ibid. p. 356.]

One cries out,* “He that created me without me, is created by my means.”

So also Biel:† “He that created me (if I may be bold to say it) has given me power to create himself, and he that created me without me, is created by my means.”

Biel also (in the same lecture) makes a comparison between the priests and the blessed Virgin, and makes them to carry it from her in this matter.

‡ “She, by pronouncing eight words, Behold the handmaid of the Lord, &c. conceived once the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world. They (*viz.* the priests) being consecrated by the Lord, by speaking five words, do call the same Son of God and the Virgin bodily before them every day.” And then cries out, “Consider, O priests, in what high degree and dignity you are placed.”

But now the Fathers they sufficiently explain themselves, that this of making Christ’s body, cannot be understood of the natural and proper body of Christ. For,

First, they lay it down as a rule, that whatsoever is made, was not before it was made.

Thus Athenagoras§ says, “That which is already, is not made, but that which is not.”

Tertullian in like manner says,|| “Nothing that has a *fieri*, is without a beginning, but it begins to be while it begins to be made.”

Athanasius:¶ “It is the property of creatures and works, that they are said to exist out of nonentities, and not to be before they are made.”

Gregory Nyssen:** “If he made it, he made that which was not at all.”

* Stella Clericorum. Qui creavit me sine me, creatur mediante me.

† In Canon. Missæ, Lect. 4. Qui creavit me (si fas est dicere) dedit mihi creare se, et qui creavit me sine me, creatur mediante me.

‡ Illa prolatis octo verbulis, Ecce Ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum Verbum tuum, semel concepit Dei filium et mundi Redemptorem. Isti à Domino consecrati, quinque Verbis eundem Dei Virginisque filium advocant quotidie corporaliter. Attendite, O Sacerdotes, in quo gradu et dignitate sitis constituti.

§ De Resurrect. Τὸ δὲ οὐ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν.

|| Lib. contr. Hermog. cap. 19. Nihil quod fieri habet, sine initio est, quin initium sit illi dum incipit fieri. [p. 240. Par. 1695.]

¶ Contr. Arian. Orat. 3. Κτισμάτων καὶ ποιημάτων ἰδιον, τὸ λέγεσθαι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆ. [vol. 1. p. 186. Heidelb. 1601.]

** Contr. Eunom. l. 9. Εἰ ἐποίησε, τὸ μὴ ὄν πάντως ἐποίησε.

St. Hilary :* “Every thing that is made, was not before it was made.”

St. Ambrose :† “That which is made, begins to be.”

St. Austin :‡ “To make is true of that which was not at all.”

Cyril Alexand. :§ “It cannot be, that what already exists, should be brought into being, but what does not exist.”

Vigilius also :|| “To be made, is the usual property of him who never subsisted before.”

Cassianus also :¶ “Things already sprung up, cannot return into that state, that they should be generated by a new creation.”

These sayings do very ill accord with the doctrine of the Roman Church,** which teaches, that the conversion in the eucharist is made, “without any change in our Lord; for neither is Christ generated, or is changed, or increased.”

Secondly, they so speak of making Christ's body, that it cannot be understood of any other than his typical and mystical body. For the Fathers say, that “bread is made his body.”

Tertullian :†† “Christ, when he had taken bread and distributed it to his disciples, made his body, saying, This is my body.”

Eusebius :‡‡ “Christ commanded his disciples (speaking of the symbols of the Divine economy delivered to them, *i. e.* bread and wine) to make the image of his body.”

Cyril of Jerusalem :§§ “When the invocation is over, the

* De Trin. l. 12. Omne quod fit, antequam fiat non fuit. [vol. 2. p. 415. Veron. 1730.]

† De Incarn. c. 3. Quod fit, incipit. [ut supra, p. 707.]

‡ De Moribus Manich. c. 7. Facere enim est quod omninò non erat. [ut supra, vol. 1. p. 1162.]

§ Thesaur. Assert. 20. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέπου τὸ ἤδη ὄν εἰς τὸ εἶναι φέροιτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν. [ut supra, vol. 5. par. 1. p. 209.]

|| Lib. 3. cont. Eutychen. Fieri, ejus solet esse proprium, qui nunquam ante substiterat. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 728. col. 1. Lugd. 1677.]

¶ Lib. 7. de Incarn. c. 2. Quæ orta jam fuerint, redire in id rursum non queant, ut novâ creatione sentiantur.

** Catechis. ad Paroch. de Eucharist. n. 39. Sine ulla Domini nostri mutatione; neque enim Christus aut generatur, aut mutatur, aut augescit.

†† Cont. Marc. l. 4. c. 40. Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, Corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est Corpus meum dicendo. [ut supra, p. 457.]

‡‡ Demonst. Evang. lib. 8. Τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι.

§§ Catech. Mystag. 1. Ἐπικλήσεως γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ. [ut supra, p. 308.]

bread is made the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ."

Gregory Nyssen says,* "At first the bread is common bread, but after the mystery has consecrated it, it is called and is made the body of Christ."

St. Austin :† "Not all bread, but only that which receives Christ's blessing, is made the body of Christ."

‡ Canon of the Mass : "Which oblation, O Almighty God, we beseech thee vouchsafe to make blessed, allowable, firm, rationable, and acceptable, that it may be made to us the body and blood of thy most dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

Also the Fathers say still more expressly that the body and blood of Christ, is made of bread and wine.

Thus the author of the Book of Sacraments under St. Ambrose's name :§ "Perhaps thou wilt say, my bread is usual bread : but though that bread be bread before the sacramental words, yet upon consecration, of bread is made the flesh of Christ."

Gaudentius :|| "The Creator and Lord of nature himself, who produces bread out of the earth, of bread again (seeing he is able, and has promised it) he makes his own body ; and he that of water made wine, made also of wine his blood."

Now all this can be meant of nothing else, but what we heard out of Eusebius before, of the image of his body, which he commanded his disciples to make.

St. Jerome also explains it of the sacramental bread and wine, upon those words of the Prophet :¶ "They shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, for wheat, and for wine and oil."

* Orat. in Christi Baptisma. *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται.* [vol. 3. p. 370. Par. 1638.]

† Serm. de Diversis, 87. Non omnis panis, sed accipiens benedictionem Christi, fit Corpus Christi. [Serm. 234, ut supra, vol. 5. p. 1438.]

‡ Canon Missæ. Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptamque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi tui filii Domini nostri J. Christi, &c.

§ Lib. 4. de Sacram. c. 4. Tu fortè dices, Meus panis est usitatus : sed panis iste panis est ante verba Sacramentorum, ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. [ut, supra, p. 368.]

|| In Exod. trac. 2. Ipse naturarum Creator et Dominus, qui producit de terra panem, de pane rursus, qui potest et promisit, efficit proprium corpus, et qui de aqua vinum fecit, et de vino sanguinem suum.

¶ In Jerem. 31. 12. De quo conficitur panis Domini, et sanguinis ejus impletur typus, et benedictio Sanctificationis ostenditur. [vol. 4. p. 1063. Veron. 1735.]

He adds, "Of which the Lord's bread is made, and the type of his blood is fulfilled, and the blessing of sanctification is shewn."

And in another place:* "Of this wheat the bread that descended from heaven is made, and which strengthens the heart of man." Which must be understood of the bread received in the eucharist.

So Tertullian† explains himself: "He made bread his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body."

And Leo Magn.:‡ "Neither may the presbyters, without the bishop's command, make the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ."

St. Chrysostom,§ speaking of wine, says, "By this the matter of the good things for our salvation is perfected." Where by those good things, he plainly means the wine in the eucharist.

It is also very observable, that the Fathers sometimes call this the mystical bread and wine, and sometimes the mystical body and blood of Christ.

Thus St. Austin says,|| "Our bread and cup is made mystical to us, by a certain consecration, and does not grow so."

St. Chrysostom thus:¶ "The mystical body and blood is not made without the grace of the Spirit."

When St. Ambrose had said,** "This body which we make is of the Virgin," he explains this phrase by another before it, viz. "That sacrament which thou receivest is made by the word of Christ." And also by another saying of his that follows, "It was true flesh of Christ that was crucified and buried; it

* In cap. 9. Zachar. De hoc tritico efficitur ille panis qui de Cœlo descendit et confortat cor hominis. [Ibid. vol. 6. p. 869.]

† Antea citat. Corpus suum illum (sc. panem) fecit, Hoc est Corpus meum dicendo, id est, Figura Corporis mei.

‡ Epist. 88. Nec licet Presbyteris, nisi eo (sc. Episcopo) jubente, Sacramentum Corporis et sanguinis Christi conficere. [vol. 2. p. 1272. Venet. 1756.]

§ Hom. 29. in Genes. Ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τούτου τελεῖται. [vol. 4. p. 331. Par. 1837.]

|| Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 13. Noster panis et calix certâ consecratione, mysticus fit nobis, non nascitur. [ut supra, vol. 8. p. 538.]

¶ De Resurrect. Mort. Hom. 33. Σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μυστικὸν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο τῆς πνεύματος χάριτος χάρις.

** Lib. de iis qui initiant. c. 9. Hoc quod conficimus Corpus ex Virgine est. Sacramentum illud quod accipis, sermone Christi conficitur. Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est. Verè ergo carnis illius Sacramentum est. [ut supra, p. 339.]

is therefore truly the sacrament of his flesh.” Where you see he distinguishes these two, the flesh of Christ crucified, and that in the sacrament, which is only mystically so.

Hesychius,* speaking of Jews, Pagans, and Heretics, says, that “the soul in society with them may not eat of the mystical body,” that is, of the eucharist.

And elsewhere,† speaking of the cup in the sacrament, uses this phrase, “Christ drinking himself and giving to the Apostles the intelligible blood to drink.” Where intelligible blood is the mystical blood in the eucharist, according to his constant use of that word.

Procopius of Gaza,‡ upon those words of the Prophet, of God’s taking away the staff of bread and stay of water; and telling us, that Christ’s flesh is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed, which they that have not, have not the strength of bread and water; he adds,§ “there is another enlivening bread also taken from the Jews,” &c. where he means the eucharist, distinguishing it from Christ’s proper flesh and blood.

St. Ambrose || makes the same distinction, where speaking of the benediction of Asher, that “his bread was fat,” &c. and that Asher signifies *riches*; he adds, “Jesus gave this bread to the Apostles, that they should divide it among believing people, and he now gives it to us, being that which the priest daily consecrates with his words. This bread is made the food of saints. We may also understand thereby the Lord himself, who gave his flesh to us, as he says, I am the bread of life.”

What can be more clear, than that he distinguishes here between the eucharistical bread (which he calls the saints’ food) and Christ himself, the bread of life?

8. *Observ.* The Fathers speak of Christ’s body sanctified and sacrificed in the eucharist; which cannot be understood of any thing, but his representative and typical body.

* In Levit. lib. 6.—Corpore mystico non vescetur.

† Id. ibid. lib. 2. Christus bibens ipse, et Apostolis bibere dans sanguinem intelligibilem.

‡ In Esa. cap. 3. [p. 61. Par. 1580.]

§ Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀφῆρηται ὁ ζωοποιὸς ἄρτος. [Ibid.]

|| De Benedict. Patriarch. c. 9. Hunc panem dedit (Jesus) Apostolis, ut dividerent populo credentium, hodieque dat nobis eum, quem ipse quotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis. Ille panis factus est esca Sanctorum. Possumus et ipsum Dominum accipere, qui carnem suam nobis dedit, sicut ipse ait, Ego sum panis vitæ. [vol. 1. p. 524. Par. 1686.]

St. Austin,* speaking of that which is upon the Lord's table (which the Church of Rome will have to be Christ's natural body), says, that† “it is blessed and sanctified.”

And Gaudentius,‡ speaking of Christ, whom he compares to the paschal lamb, says, “Through all the houses of the churches, in the mystery of bread and wine, being sacrificed he refreshes, being believed on he quickens, being consecrated he sanctifies them that consecrate.”

This can be only true in representation, which is said of Christ's being sacrificed and sanctified (or consecrated) by us; for the proper and natural body of Christ can neither be *sanctified* in a proper sense, nor *sacrificed* by us, as I shall now shew.

1. *Not sanctified properly.*

For this, in the sense of the Fathers, is dedication to God; and though we may dedicate ourselves to God, yet not the Son of God to him.

Origen:§ “To sanctify a thing, that is, to vow it to God.”

Cyril Alexandr.:|| “That which is said to be sanctified does not partake of all holiness, but it rather signifies that which is devoted to God in honour of him.” Now Christ is certainly partaker of all holiness.

Jobius:¶ “We say a place, or bread, or wine is sanctified, which are set apart for God, and are not put to any common use.”

Hesychius:** “That which is sanctified and offered, because it is offered, begins to be sanctified, therefore it was not holy before.” This cannot be affirmed of Christ's proper body, which was never other than holy, but may of the typical bread which was common before.

* Epist. 59. Quod in Domini mensa est.

† — Benedicatur et sanctificatur. [Epist. 149. p. 761. Par. 1836.]

‡ In Exod. tract. 19. Per singulas Ecclesiarum domos in mysterio panis et vini reficit immolatus, vivificat creditus, consecrantes sanctificat consecratus.

§ In Levit. Hom. 11. Sanctificare aliquid, hoc est, vovere Deo. [vol. 2. p. 247. Par. 1733.]

|| Com. in Esaiam. Edit. gr. lat. p. 178. [Lutet. 1638.] Τὸ ἀγιάζεσθαι λεγόμενον, οὐχὶ παντὸς ἁγιασμοῦ μέτοχον ἔσται, σημαίνει δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ εἰς δόξαν ἀνατεθειμένον τῷ Θεῷ.

¶ Apud Photium, cod. 222. Ἀγιάζεσθαι τὸν τόπον, ἢ τὸν ἄρτον, ἢ τὸν οἶνον, ἂ τῷ Θεῷ φαιμέν ἀφορίζεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς μηδεμίαν κοινὴν ὑποφέρεσθαι χρῆσιν.

** In Levit. l. 7. Quod sanctificatur et offertur, eo quod offertur sanctificari incipit, ergo prius non erat sanctum.

2. *Not sacrificed properly.*

Therefore Gaudentius,* in the forecited tract, says, “We offer the labours, &c. of the passion, in the figure of the body and blood.”

St. Austin:† “Was not Christ offered once in himself? And yet every day in the sacrament he is offered for the people.”

He opposes, you see, these two, to be sacrificed in himself (and that is but once), and to be offered in the sacrament, and that may be every day.

Also elsewhere:‡ “Does Christ die so often as Easter is celebrated? Yet this anniversary remembrance does as it were represent what was done of old, and so admonishes us as if we saw our Lord hanging on the cross.”

And in the second exposition itself, he says,§ “He gave us his supper and he gave us his passion, *viz.* by representation.”

St. Chrysostom|| says the same: “The mystery (*viz.* the eucharist) is the passion and the cross.”

Which he explains thus elsewhere:¶ “We always offer the same sacrifice, or rather make a remembrance of (his) sacrifice.”

So Eulogius of Alexandria,** speaking of the tremendous mystery of Christ’s body, says, “It is not the offering of different sacrifices, but the remembrance of that one sacrifice once offered.”

Theodore† also fully tells us,†† that “it is manifest to those that are skilled in divine matters, that we do not offer any

* In Exod. tract. 19. Labores Passionis, &c. in figura corporis et sanguinis offerimus.

† Epist. 23. ad Bonifac. Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? et tamen in Sacramento omni die populis immolatur. [ut supra, p. 400.]

‡ In Psal. 21. Præfat. in secundam expos. Quotiens Pascha celebratur, nunquid totiens Christus moritur? Sed tamen anniversaria recordatio quasi representat quod olim factum est, et sic nos facit moneri, tanquam videamus in cruce pendentem Dominum. [Ibid. vol. 4. p. 134.]

§ In secunda expos. Psal. 21. Cœnam suam dedit, Passionem suam dedit. [Ibid. p. 143.]

|| Hom. 83. in Matth. Μυστήριόν ἐστι τὸ πάθος καὶ ὁ σταυρός. [vol. 7. p. 883. Par. 1836.]

¶ Hom. 17. in Epist. ad Hebr. Τὴν αὐτὴν (Θυσίαν) ἀεὶ ποιούμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα Θυσίας. [Ibid. vol. 12. p. 242.]

** Apud Photium, cod. 280. Οὐ Θυσιῶν ἐστὶ διαφόρων προσαγωγή, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἁπαξ προενηνεγμένης Θυσίας ἀνάμνησις. [ut supra, p. 1609.]

†† In Epist. ad Hebr. 8. 4. Ὡς οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ Θυσίαν προσφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς μίας ἐκείνης καὶ σωτηρίου τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελεῖν. [vol. 3. p. 594. Hal. 1771.]

other sacrifice, but make a remembrance of that one saving one.”

St. Austin's words are also remarkable :* “To eat bread in the New Testament is the sacrifice of Christians.”

Eusebius,† speaking of Christ's sacrifice offered for our salvation, adds : “He commanded us to offer to God continually the remembrance instead of the sacrifice. What can be more plain?”

St. Ambrose says,‡ that Christ is offered here, but it is (*in imagine*) in an image, and he opposes this to his offering himself (*in veritate*) in truth.

St. Austin says :§ “Our Priest, who offered himself an holocaust for our sins, also commanded the similitude of his sacrifice to be celebrated in memory of his passion.”

And elsewhere :|| “The flesh and blood of this sacrifice—after Christ's ascension, is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrance.”

Lastly, Fulgentius¶ calls the sacrifice, which the holy Church ceases not to offer through the whole world, “the sacrifice of bread and wine ;” and says, that in this sacrifice, “there is a thanksgiving and a commemoration of the flesh of Christ, which he offered for us.”

For want of apprehending things thus, they of the Church of Rome are tempted to utter words bordering upon blasphemy ; and with Corn. à Lapide,** to make their sacrificing priest greater than Christ the sacrifice.

* De Civit. Dei, l. 17. cap. 5. in fine. Manducare panem in N. Testamento est Sacrificium Christianorum. [ut supra, vol. 7. p. 740.]

† Demonstr. Evan. l. 1. c. 10. Μνήμην δὲ ἡμῖν παραδοὺς ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρειν. [vol. 1. p. 38. Colon. 1688.]

‡ De Offic. l. 1. cap. 48. [vol. 2. p. 63. Par. 1690.]

§ Quæstion. 83. quæst. 61. Ipse etiam Sacerdos noster, qui seipsum obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis nostris, et ejus Sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in suæ Passionis memoriam commendavit. [ut supra, vol. 6. p. 73.]

|| Contr. Faustum, l. 20. c. 21. Hujus Sacrificii caro et sanguis—Post ascensum Christi per Sacramentum memoriæ celebratur. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 546.]

¶ De Fide ad Petrum, c. 16. Sacrificium panis et vini.—Gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit.

** Comm. in Heb. 7. v. 7. Adde Sacerdotem, quatenus gerit personam Christi Sacrificantis, quodam modo majorem esse Christo ipso sacrificato. In omni enim Sacrificio sacerdos major est sua victima, quam offert.

CHAP. VIII.

THE EIGHTH DIFFERENCE.

The Church of Rome, in all sayings of the Fathers that mention a change and conversion in the Eucharist, understand it of such a change as abolishes the substance of bread and wine, the accidents only remaining : but the Fathers never use these phrases in this sense.

It is acknowledged by us, that the Fathers speak frequently of a change of the bread and wine, and their passing into, and being converted into Christ's body and blood. It is needless therefore to cite their testimonies to this purpose ; but I shall evidently prove, that they do not understand this change and conversion in the sense of transubstantiation.

To give some order to their testimonies, I shall not cite them in a heap, but as proofs of several assertions of theirs, which overthrow the change by transubstantiation.

1. *Assertion.* The Fathers make a difference betwixt the change or conversion of a thing, and its abolition. When they affirm the one, they at the same time deny the other. But transubstantiation supposes the elements, as to the matter and substance of them, to perish and to be destroyed, when they are said to be changed.

You cannot well imagine that the Fathers, if they thought of miracles wrought in the sacrament, yet should ever dream of any such as had no agreement with all the miracles that God ever wrought before. They well knew (and our adversaries do not deny it), that in all other supernatural changes, there was only the introducing of a new form, the *materia substrata* (the common matter) remaining. So it was when Moses's rod was turned into a serpent, when the waters were turned into blood, Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, the wine in Cana of Galilee changed into water ; in all these, neither the old matter was lost, nor new matter created. The Fathers therefore laugh at any such change, where the things changed utterly perish.

Tertullian* charges it as a great absurdity against the Marcionites, that, according to them, to be changed, was to perish wholly, and as to what they were before.

* De Resurrect. Carn. c. 55. Quasi demutari, sit in totum et de pristino perire. [ut supra, p. 360.]

He has many smart sayings against them, for denying the same bodies to appear and rise at the resurrection; and urges that of 1 Cor. xv. shewing that there will be a change, not a destruction of our flesh. For, says he,* “A change is one thing, and destruction is another. But it will perish in the change, if that flesh do not remain in the change which shall be exhibited at the resurrection.”

† ——— “As therefore that which is destroyed is not changed, so that which is changed is not destroyed. For, to perish, is wholly not to be what it had been; but to be changed, is to be otherwise than it was. Moreover, by being otherwise, the thing may still be; for it has a being which perishes not; for it only suffered a change, not a destruction.”

Gelasius‡ also, disputing against the Eutychians, who thought that the humanity was converted into the divinity, so that nothing of the other remained (just as with them the bread is converted into Christ’s body, nothing of its substance remaining), says thus:§ “Neither does our condition by the union of the Deity seem to be glorified, but rather to be consumed, if it does not subsist the same in glory, but the Deity existing alone, the humanity now ceases to be there,” &c.

|| — “By this way, it will not be found to be sublimated, but abolished.”

The thing is so clear against transubstantiation, that Scotus¶ confesses it: “I say, properly speaking, that transubstantiation is not a change.”

2. *Assertion.* When the Fathers speak of converting a thing into another thing that was before, they suppose an accession and an augmentation made to that into which the

* Aliud est demutatio, aliud perditio. Peribit autem demutata, si non ipsa permanserit in demutatione, quæ exhibita fuerit in resurrectione. [Ibid.]

† — Quomodo ergo quod perditum est, mutatum non est, ita quod mutatum est, perditum non est. Perisse enim, est in totum non esse quod fuerit; mutatum esse, aliter esse est. Sed porro dum aliter est, id ipsum potest esse; habet enim esse quod non perit; mutationem enim passum est, non perditionem. [Ibid.]

‡ De duabus Naturis.

§ Nec videatur glorificata nostra conditio unione Deitatis, sed potius esse consumpta, si non eadem subsistit in gloria, sed solà existente Deitate, humanitas illic esse jam destitit, &c. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 701. col. 1. Lugd. 1677.]

|| — Per hoc non sublimata, sed abolita potius invenitur. [Ibid.]

¶ In 4. dist. 11. art. 1. sec. ad propositum. Dico proprie loquendo, quod transubstantiatio non est mutatio.

conversion is made. Just as it is in nourishment of our bodies, the food converted into them makes an increase of them.

Cyril of Alexandria,* arguing against those heretics who thought the glorified body of Christ was converted into his divinity, he says, “Thus we derogate from the divinity, as if it were made, and as receiving something into itself, which is not proper to its nature.” And he makes this conversion to be impossible upon this account.

Gelasius† uses the same phrases, of “accession and increase to the Deity,” and that “by the transfusion of the humanity added to it, the divinity would seem to be increased.”

Thus the later Greeks thought it was in Christ’s body into which the bread was changed.

Damascen,‡ speaking of the body of Christ which we partake of: “I declare,” says he, “it cannot be said, there are two bodies of Jesus Christ, there being but one alone. For, as the child, as soon as it is born, is complete, but receives his growth from eating and drinking; and though he grows thereby, yet cannot be said to have two bodies, but only one; so, by greater reason, the bread and wine, by the descent of the Holy Spirit, are made one only body, and not two, by the augmentation of the body of Christ.”

Theophylact§ expresses it thus: “The bread is changed (*μεταποιεῖται*) into the flesh of Christ by the ineffable words, the mystical benediction, and coming of the Holy Spirit upon it. No man ought to be troubled in being obliged to believe that bread becomes flesh: for when our Lord was conversant in flesh, and received his nourishment from bread, this bread he did eat was changed into his body, being made like to his holy flesh, and contributed to augment and sustain it after a

* Epist. 1. ad Succensum. Κατηγορούμεν τῆς Θεότητος ὡς γεννητῆς, καὶ ὡς προσλαβούσης τι ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὃ μὴ ἐστι κατὰ φύσιν ἴδιον αὐτῆς. Ἀρχανον. [vol. 5. par. 2. Lutet. 1638.]

† De duabus Naturis.—Accesserit, accreveritque Deitati.—transfusionem humanitatis adjectæ velut aucta videatur. [ut supra.]

‡ Epist. ad Zachariam, et in Hom. de Corp. et Sang. Domini.—Πολλῷ μᾶλλον διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὃ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος εἰς ἐπαύξησιν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, γίνεται ἐν σῶμα, καὶ οὐ δύο.

§ In cap. 6. Joan. Ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Συνεξωμοιοῦτο καὶ εἰς αὔξησιν καὶ σύστασιν συνεβάλλετο κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον· καὶ νῦν οὖν ὁ ἄρτος εἰς σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου μεταβάλλεται. [vol. 1. p. 594. Venet. 1754.]

human manner : and thus now is the bread changed into our Lord's flesh."

See more testimonies of the following Greeks in Monsieur Claude's Catholic Doctrine of the Eucharist, in answer to Monsieur Arnaud, Lib. 3. cap. 13. pag. 228, 229. in fol.

3. *Assertion* (and the most remarkable) is this, The Fathers use the same terms of passing into, being changed, converted, becoming another thing, &c. in other cases besides the eucharist, wherein all agree there is no change of substances made. Therefore there is no argument can be drawn from such expressions in favour of transubstantiation, no, not when the word nature or substance is expressed in the change.

Tertullian* has dashed this out of countenance, when he says to Marcion, "If thou defendest a transfiguration and conversion as far as the passing of the substance of a thing into another, then Saul, who was turned into another man, went out of his body," &c.

Again,† "It is possible to be changed," says he, "to be converted and reformed into what shall happen at the resurrection, and yet the substance be preserved."

But this will more fully appear, by the axioms the Fathers lay down, and by the instances they give.

Their axioms are such as these.

Cyril of Alexandria:‡ "For a thing to be made, does not always signify a change of nature."

Cyril of Jerus.:§ "Whatsoever the Holy Spirit touches, that is always sanctified and changed."

St. Jerome:|| "By the fire of the Holy Spirit, all that we think, speak, and act, are changed into a spiritual substance."

If these sayings be strictly scanned, they will amount to no more than a producing new virtues and qualities, which were not before.

* De Resur. Carn. c. 55. Si transfigurationem et conversionem in transitum substantiæ cujusque defendis, ergo et Saul in alium virum conversus de corpore suo excessit, &c. [ut supra, p. 361.]

† Ibid. Ita et in resurrectionis eventum mutari, converti, reformari licebit, cum salute substantiæ.

‡ Thesaur. Assert. 20. Τὸ γίνεσθαι οὐ πάντως φύσεως σημαίνει μεταβολήν. [ut supra, vol. 5. par. 1. p. 201.]

§ Catech. Mystag. 5. Πάντως γὰρ οὐ ἐὰν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἁγιάσται καὶ μεταβέβληται. [p. 327. Venet. 1763.]

|| In cap. 43. Ezekiel. Per ignem Spiritus sancti omnia quæ cogitamus loquimur ac facimus, in spiritualem substantiam convertuntur. [vol. 5. p. 535. Veron. 1736.]

Their instances also shew the same.

1. *Of miraculous changes in Nature.*

St. Ambrose :* “Let them learn that nature may be converted, when the rock flowed out waters, and iron swam above water.”

Again,† speaking of changes in the Red Sea and Jordan, when the waters stood on an heap : “Is it not clear,” says he, “that the nature of the sea-waves and the river’s current was changed?—Moses threw wood into the water, and the nature of the waters lost its bitterness.—Elisha also threw wood into the water, and iron swam; and this we know was done besides nature.”

Epiphanius‡ says, “The hand of Moses was changed into snow.”

St. Chrysostom§ (speaking of the Babylonian furnace) says, “The elements forgetting their proper nature, were changed to become profitable to them; and the very beasts were no longer beasts, nor the furnace a furnace.”

2. *Of the change by the Fall.*

St. Austin says,|| “By sin man fell from the substance in which he was made.”

3. *Of the change by Regeneration.*

Gregory Nyssen¶ that by the discipline of Christ “men are changed into a nature that is more divine.”

And again:** “Having divested themselves of flesh and blood, and being changed into a spiritual nature.”

Macarius says, “Our souls must be altered and changed

* In Hexaem. 1. 3. c. 2. Discant naturam posse converti, quando petra aquas fluxit, et ferrum aquæ supernatavit. [vol. 1. p. 37. Par. 1686.]

† Lib. de iis qui initiant. c. 9. Nonne claret naturam vel maritimorum fluctuum vel fluvialis cursus esse mutatam?—Misit Moyses lignum in aquam, et amaritudinem suam aquarum natura deposuit.—Misit etiam Elisæus lignum in aquam, et ferrum natavit; utique et hoc præter naturam factum esse cognoscimus. [vol. 2. p. 338. Par. 1690.]

‡ Hæres. 64. Εἰς χίονα μεταβάλλεσθαι. [vol. 1. p. 596. Colon. 1682.]

§ In Psal. 10. Τὰ στοιχεῖα τὴν οἰκίαν ἀγνοήσαντα φύσιν, πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον ἐκείνοις μετεβάλλοντο, καὶ τὰ θήρια οὐκ ἔτι θήρια ἦν, οὐδὲ ἡ κάμινος κάμινος. [ut supra, vol. 5. p. 135.]

|| In Psal. 68. Conc. 1. Per iniquitatem homo lapsus est à substantiâ, in qua factus est. [vol. 4. p. 989. Par. 1835.]

¶ In Cantic. Hom. 1. Μεταποιηθῆναι τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ θεϊότερον. [vol. 1. p. 482. Par. 1638.]

** In Cantic. Hom. 9. Ἐξω γεγονότες σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, εἰς δὲ τὴν πνευματικὴν μεταστοιχειωθέντες φύσιν. [Ibid. p. 601.]

from their present condition, into another condition, and into a divine nature.”*

Cyril of Alexandria† speaks of regeneration as that which “transmutes and changes us into the Son of God.”

4. *Of the change in the Incarnation of Christ, and the Resurrection.*

Gregory Nyssen,‡ speaking of Christ, whom he calls our first-fruits, says, that “by his mixing with God, he is changed into a divine nature.”

And again§ he uses this phrase of Christ’s flesh, that “this is also changed into the Deity.”

Chrysologus || of the Incarnation : “God is changed into man.”

The author under the name of Eusebius Emissenus asks,¶ “What is the rod turned into a serpent?” He answers, “God changed into man.”

Tertullian,** speaking of the resurrection : “We shall be changed in a moment into an angelical substance.”

St. Hilary’s†† phrase of it is, “A change of earthly bodies into a spiritual and ethereal nature.”

Macarius,‡‡ speaking of the saints : “They are all changed into a divine nature.”

Chrysologus,§§ speaking of Christ : “Let him come, let him come, to repair our flesh, make our souls new, change our nature into a celestial substance.”

* Hom. 44. Δεῖ ἀλλαγῆναι καὶ μεταβληθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν καταστάσεως εἰς ἑτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ φύσιν θείαν. [p. 510. Lips. 1714.]

† De S. Trin. Dial. 3. Μεταστοιχειοῦσα πρὸς τὸν νόον.

‡ Contr. Eunom. 1. 2. Διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνακράσεως εἰς θείαν φύσιν μεταποιεῖσθης. [ut supra, vol. 2. p. 484.]

§ Ibid. 1. 5. Μεταποιηθῆναι καὶ ταύτην πρὸς τὴν θεότητα. [Ibid. p. 594.]

|| Serm. 45. Deus in hominem convertitur. [fol. 85. p. 2. Bonon. 1534.]

¶ Hom. de Pasch. 3. Quid est Virga in Serpentem? Deus in hominem commutatus.

** Demutati in atomo erimus in Angelicam substantiam. Contr. Marc. 1. 3. c. ult. [p. 412. Par. 1664.]

†† In Psal. 138. Demutatio terrenorum corporum in spiritualem æthereamque naturam. [vol. 1. p. 573. Veron. 1730.]

‡‡ Hom. 34. Εἰς θεικὴν φύσιν ἅπαντες μεταβάλλονται. [ut supra, p. 449.]

§§ Serm. 45. Veniat, veniat ut carnem reparet, animam innovet, ipsam naturam in cœlestem commutet substantiam. [ut supra, fol. 85. n. 1, 2.]

Cyril of Alexandria says,* at the resurrection there will be “another kind of life, and a change of our very nature.”

St. Austin says,† “Our mortal flesh is converted into the body of an angel.—He that could change water into wine, is able to change hay (so he calls our bodies that are grass) into gold, and of flesh make an angel. If he made of filth a man, can he not make of man an angel?”

And elsewhere,‡ speaking of our bodies: “When it shall put on incorruption and immortality, now it will be no longer flesh and blood, but be changed into a celestial body.”

Cassian.§ (speaking of Christ’s flesh after the resurrection): “The nature of his flesh is changed into a spiritual substance.”

5. *Of the change in Baptism.*

St. Chrysostom:¶ “Verily the power of baptism is great, &c. it does not suffer men to be any longer men.”

Nazianzen:¶¶ “I am changed into Christ in baptism.”

Cyril of Alexandria:** “By the energy of the Spirit the sensible water is changed into a kind of divine and unspeakable power.”

Again:†† that they are “transelemented by regeneration, through the grace of the laver of baptism.”

St. Austin,‡‡ speaking of baptized converts to Christianity: “It received on one day three, on another five thousand believers converted into his body.”

* Orat. in Resurr. Christi. Ἄλλο ζωῆς εἶδος αὐτῆς, τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν μεταστοιχείωσις.

† Serm. 12. de 40. à Sirmond. Edit. Caro mortalis convertitur in corpus Angeli.—Ille qui potens fuit mutare aquam in vinum, potens est mutare foenum in aurum, et de carne facere Angelum. Si de sordibus fecit hominem, de homine non faciet Angelum? [ut supra, vol. 5. p. 324.]

‡ Cont. Adimant. c. 12. Cum induerit incorruptionem et immortalitatem, jam non caro et sanguis erit, sed in corpus cœleste mutabitur. [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 226.]

§ De Incarn. 1. 3. c. 3. Natura carnis in spiritualem est translata substantiam. [p. 55. Basil. 1534.]

¶ In Acta, Hom. 23. Ὅντως, μεγάλη τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἡ δύναμις, &c. οὐκ ἀφίησιν ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ἀνθρώπους.

¶¶ Orat. 40. Χριστὸν μεταπεποιῆμαι τῷ βαπτίσματι. [vol. 1. p. 643. Par. 1630.]

** In Joan. 3. 5. Διὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργείας τὸ αἶσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θεῖαν τινὰ καὶ ἄρρητον ἀναστοιχειοῦται δύναμιν. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 147.]

†† Idem Epist. ad Letorium. Ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας μεταστοιχειουμένους διὰ τῆς τοῦ λούτρου χάριτος.

‡‡ Cont. Crescon. lib. 4. c. 54. Uno die tria, alio quinque millia credentium in suum corpus conversa suscepit. [ut supra, vol. 9. p. 786.]

Again,* elsewhere he asks, “How comes baptism to be red, but by being consecrated with the blood of Christ?”

Leo the Great:† “He that is received by Christ, and receives Christ, is not the same man after as before baptism; but the body of the regenerate person becomes the flesh of Christ crucified; this is a change by the right hand of the Most High,” &c.

And again:‡ “Christ gave to the water what he gave to his mother: for the virtue of the Most High, and the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which made Mary to bring forth a Saviour, the same makes the water to regenerate a believer.”

(Where we may also note by the way, that the mention of God’s omnipotence in the case of sacraments, does not infer a substantial change made there, since it does not do it in baptism; and yet the omnipotency of God is seen in working changes there.)

Zeno Veronens.:§ “Our water receives the dead and vomits forth the living, being made true men of mere animals, such as are to pass from being men into angels,” &c. He says this of baptism, which is not like common water, which receives the living to the bottom, and vomits forth the dead.

Author *sub nomine* Eusebii Emisseni:|| “The waters are suddenly changed, which are afterwards to change men, *viz.* that are baptized in them.”

Again:¶ “A man by the water of baptism, though outwardly he seems the same, yet inwardly he is made another man.—The person is not touched, and nature is changed.”

* In Joan. tract. 11. Unde rubet Baptismus, nisi sanguine Christi consecratus? [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 1805.]

† Sermon. 14. de Passione. Susceptus à Christo, et Christum suscipiens, non idem est post Lavacrum qui ante baptismum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi; hæc commutatio dextra est excelsi, &c. [vol. 1. p. 246. Venet. 1753.]

‡ De Nativ. Dom. Sermon. 4. Christus dedit aquæ quod dedit matri: virtus enim altissimi et obumbratio Spiritus S. quæ fecit ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem facit ut regeneret unda credentem. [Sermon. 5.] [Ibid. p. 86.]

§ Ad Neoph. post Baptism. Sermon. 2. Aqua nostra suscipit mortuos et evomit vivos, ex animalibus veros homines factos, ex hominibus in Angelos transituros.

|| Hom. 2. de Epiphaniâ. Mutantur subito aquæ, homines postmodum mutantur.

¶ Id. Hom. 3. de Epiphaniâ. Homo per aquam baptismi, licet à foris idem esse videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur—persona non contingitur, et natura mutatur.

Again:* “Nothing is added to what is outward, and he is wholly changed in what is inward.—He is changed by a native whiteness into the dignity of his first original; and by the water of baptism, or by the fire of the Holy Spirit, is made the body of that eternal bread.”

4. *Assertion.* The change in the eucharist which the Fathers so often mention, is either a change into a sacrament, or a change of efficacy and virtue, by infusion and addition of grace.

What can be plainer (as to the first) than that of Isidore of Seville?† Speaking of the bread and wine, he says, “These two are visible; but being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, they pass into a sacrament of his Divine body.”

As for the change of virtue and efficacy, take these following testimonies, among many others.

Theodotus :‡ “The bread and oil are sanctified by the power of the name, not being the same they were according to appearance when taken, but are changed powerfully into a spiritual virtue.” The like he says of the water in baptism, “That it not only retains the less (that is, the substance of water) but also has sanctification added to it.”

Epiphanius also speaks the same:§ “Here in Christ the virtue of bread and force of water are strengthened; not that the bread is thus powerful to us, but the virtue of the bread (which Christ puts into it). For bread is indeed an aliment, but there is in it a virtue to enliven us.”

Cyril of Alexandria :|| “God condescending to our infir-

* Idem Hom. 5. de Pasch. In exteriore nihil additum est, et totum in interiore mutatum est.—In illam primæ originis dignitatem nativo candore mutatur, ac per aquam Baptismi, vel per ignem Spiritus S. æterni illius panis corpus efficitur.

† De Offic. Eccles. l. 1. c. 18. Hæc duo sunt visibilia, sanctificata autem per Spiritum S. in Sacramentum divini corporis transeunt. [p. 395. col. 1. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

‡ Epitom. ad fin. Operum Clem. Alex. Καὶ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀγιάζεται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ὀνόματος, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄντα κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον οἷα ἐλήφθη, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει εἰς δύναμιν πνευματικὴν μετὰβιβλῆται.—Οὐ μόνον χωρεῖ τὸ χεῖρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγιασμόν προσλαμβάνει. [p. 988. Venet. 1757.]

§ In Compendio de Fide Eccles. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ ἰσχυροποιουμένων τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἰσχυρος, ἵνα οὐκ ἄρτος ἡμῖν γένηται δύναμις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις ἄρτου, καὶ βρώσις μὲν ὁ ἄρτος, ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ζωογόνησιν. [vol. 1. p. 1098. Colon. 1682.]

|| Apud Victor. Antioch. Com. MS. in Marc. 14. Συγκαθιστάμενος γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀσθενείαις ἐνίησι τοῖς προκειμένοις δύναμιν ζωῆς, καὶ μεδίστησιν αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν τῆς ἐαντοῦ σαρκός.

mities, indues the oblations set before us with a virtue of life, and changes them into the efficacy of his flesh."

And in the forecited place of his comment upon John,* he says, "The least particle of the eucharist mixing itself with our whole body, fills it with its own efficacy," &c.

Theodoret† tells those that partake of the divine mysteries, "that they must not consider the nature of the things seen, but upon the change of names, believe the change made by grace." And he adds, "that Christ honoured the visible symbols with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature (or substance) of them, but adding grace to nature."

Theophylact‡ also says the same: "Our Lord preserves the substance (εἶδος, the same with φύσις in Theodoret) of bread and wine, but changes them into the virtue of his flesh and blood."

Gregory Nyssen,§ speaking of the privileges which consecration advances things to, instances first in the water of baptism, and the great and marvellous efficacy thereof; and proceeds to that of an altar, which is at first but a common stone, but after dedication becomes an holy altar, which the priests only touch with veneration: and then adds the instance of the eucharist,|| "which at first is common bread, but after the mystery has consecrated it, it is called and becomes the body of Christ. So the mystical oil, and so the wine before the benediction, are things of little worth; but after the sanctification of the Spirit, each of them operates excellently."

So Ammonius¶ says: "The sensible water is transelemented into a divine virtue (for the Fathers make changes in baptism as well as the eucharist), and sanctifies those in whom it is."

* In Joan. 6. 57. Τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας ἀναπληροῖ. [vol. 4. p. 365. Lutet. 1638.]

† Dialog. 1. Πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγεννημένῃ μεταβολῇ. — Οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. [vol. 4. p. 26. Hal. 1772.]

‡ In cap. 14. Marc. Τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου φυλάττει, εἰς δύναμιν δὲ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος μεταστοιχείοι. [vol. 1. p. 249. Venet. 1754.]

§ Orat. in Bapt. Christi. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 369.]

|| "Ἄρτος ἐστὶ τῶς κοινός, ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας, μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμόν τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως. [Ibid. p. 370.]

¶ Catena in Joan. 3. 5. Τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θεῖαν ἀναστοιχείουται δύναμιν, καὶ ἀγιάζει τοὺς ἐν οἷς γένηται.

Nay, he affirms, that* “the water differs only from the Spirit in our manner of conception, for it is the same in energy.”

Cyril of Jerusalem,† calling the flesh and bread in the feast of idols *defiled*, by the invocation of impure devils, he illustrates it thus: ‡ “As the bread and wine of the eucharist, before the invocation of the adored Trinity, is bare bread and wine; but after invocation, the bread is made the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ;§ so also in the same manner those meats of the pomp of Satan, in their own nature being simple things, yet by the invocation of devils they become impure.”

That is the change here, that those meats are in quality (not in substance) made impure; and so (if the comparison hold) the change in the other is, that they are hallowed bread and wine, in use and efficacy different from what they were before.

The author under Cyprian’s name,|| speaking of chrism, says, “Truth is in the sign, and the Spirit in the sacrament.”

Thus St. Ambrose¶ understands the body of Christ for that “divine substance and presence of the Spirit (which is the *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* of Christ’s body). Christ is in that sacrament, because it is the body of Christ. It is not therefore corporeal but spiritual food. For the body of God is a spiritual body. The body of Christ is the body of the Divine Spirit (not his natural body), because it is the Spirit of Christ.”

Here *Corpus Dei* is *Corpus Spiritale*, that is, *Substantia Spiritualis et Spiritus*.

The author under his name: “How can that which is bread be the body of Christ? By consecration.—To answer thee therefore, it was not the body of Christ before consecration; but after consecration, I tell thee, it is the body of Christ. He said it, and it was done; he commanded, and it was

* Ibid. Τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπινοία μόνον διαφορὰν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐπεὶ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ.

† Catech. Mystag. l. Μιασθέντα. [ut supra, p. 308.]

‡ Ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός. [Ibid.]

§ Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματα τῆς πομπῆς τοῦ Σατανᾶ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ φύσει λιτὰ ὄντα, τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῶν δαιμόνων βέβηλα γίνονται. [Ibid.]

|| De Unct. Chrismat. Inest Veritas signo, et Spiritus Sacramento. [Append. p. cviii. Venet. 1728.]

¶ De iis qui init. c. 9. in fine. In illo Sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi. Non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritualis est. Corpus enim Dei corpus est Spiritale. Corpus Christi, corpus est divini Spiritus, quia Spiritus Christi (sc. est). [vol. 2. p. 341. Par. 1690.]

created. Thou thyself wast an old creature; but after thou wast consecrated, thou beganest to be a new creature," &c.*

So that, according to this author, as in regeneration by baptism man changes his nature, so does the consecrated bread in the eucharist change its nature. Therefore it is no substantial change, because the other confessedly is not so.

Druthmarus,† speaking of a person taking a long journey, and leaving a pledge behind him to remember him by, adds,‡ “Thus also God has commanded us to do, spiritually changing the bread into his body, and the wine into his blood, that by these two things we may remember what he hath done for us with his body and blood,” &c.

5. *Assertion.* The Fathers express in the same manner, and as fully, our substantial change into Christ’s body, as of the bread into Christ’s body. Yet none will from such expressions assert the former; and there is the same reason not to do the latter.

Gregory Nyssen:§ “As a little leaven, according to the Apostles, likens the whole mass to itself; so the body (of Christ) put to death by God, coming into our body, does change and convert the whole into itself.”

And again, a little after:|| “His immortal body being in him that receives it, changes the whole into its own nature.”

Cyril of Alexandria¶ says, “He that perceives me by a participation of my flesh, shall have life in himself, being wholly transelemented into me.”

P. Leo Magn.:** “We are the flesh of Christ, taken from the womb of the Virgin.”

* De Sacram. lib. 4. cap. 4. Quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione. — Ergo ut tibi respondeam, Non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem; sed post consecrationem, dico tibi, quod corpus est Christi. Ipse dixit, et factum est; ipse mandavit, et creatum est. Tu ipse eras vetus creatura; posteaquam consecratus es, nova creatura esse cœpisti, &c. [Ibid. p. 368.]

† Comm. in Matth. 26.

‡ — Ita Deus præcipit agi à nobis, transferens spiritualiter panem in corpus, vinum in sanguinem, ut per hæc duo memoremus quæ fecit pro nobis de corpore suo, &c. [fol. lxxxi. p. 1. col. 1. Argentor. 1514.]

§ Orat. Catech. cap. 37. Οὕτως τὸ θανάτισθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γενόμενον ὅλον πρὸς αὐτὸ μεταποιεῖ καὶ μετατίθησι. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 102.]

|| — Τὸ ἀθάνατον σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἀναλαβόντι αὐτὸ γενόμενον, πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν τὸ πᾶν μετεποίησεν. [Ibid.]

¶ In Joan. lib. 4. cap. 3. — Ἐν αὐτῷ ζήσεται, πάντως ὅλος εἰς ἐμὲ μεταστοιχείουμος. [vol. 4. p. 366. Lutet. 1638.]

** De Nat. Dom. Serm. 10. Christi caro de utero virginis sumpta, nos sumus. [ut supra, vol. 1. p. 107.]

And elsewhere :* “The participation of the body and blood of Christ intends nothing else but that we should pass into that which we receive.—That we may carry him in all things both in Spirit and flesh.” (Not as Bellarmine and others pervert the sense, reading *gustemus*.)

Again, in another place:† “In that mystical distribution of spiritual food, this is bestowed on us, this is taken, that receiving the virtue of the celestial meat, we should pass into his flesh, who was made our flesh.”

See more testimonies to this sense in the chapter following, Position 3.

CHAP. IX.

THE NINTH DIFFERENCE.

The Fathers differ from the Church of Rome in their belief of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The Church of Rome asserts the substantial presence of Christ's natural body there ; but the Fathers deny it.

THE former is the assertion of the Roman Church in the Trent Council, in which an anathema is pronounced‡ against such as deny, “that in the holy sacrament of the eucharist is contained truly, really, and substantially the body and blood of Christ,—but shall say, that he is in it only as a sign, or figure, or virtue.” And the *Catechism ad Parochos* says,§ “That the true body of our Lord Christ, the same that was born of the Virgin, and sits in the heavens at the right hand of the Father, is contained in this sacrament.”

I will now shew, that the Fathers advance such positions as plainly contradict this doctrine.

1. *Position.* The Fathers, ever since Christ's departure

* Id. de Passion. Serm. 14. Non aliud agit Participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi, quàm ut in id quod sumimus transeamus.—Ipsum per omnia spiritu et carne gestemus. [Ibid. p. 247.]

† Epist. 23. In illa mystica distributione spiritualis alimonie, hoc impertitur, hoc sumitur, ut accipientes virtutem coelestis cibi in carnem ipsius, quia caro nostra factus est, transeamus. [Ibid. p. 977.]

‡ Conc. Trid. Sess. 13. cap. 6. Can. 1. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 808. Lut. Par. 1672.]

§ Part. 2. de Eucharist. n. 25.

and ascension into heaven, look upon his body as absent from earth, though in another sense he is still present.

All those testimonies before produced under the Fifth Difference, concerning bodies being commensurate to space and not being in more places than one, and saying this of Christ's body as well as of other bodies, are a proof of this position ; but besides those, I will here add some further direct proofs of it.

St. Ambrose thus :* “Ascend (speaking to Christ) that we may follow thee with our minds, whom we cannot see with our eyes. St. Paul has taught us how we should follow thee, and where we may find thee. Seek those things that are above, where Christ sits, &c.—Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon earth, nor in the earth, nor according to the flesh, if we would find thee.†—Mary could not touch him, because she sought him on earth : Stephen touched him, because he sought him in heaven. Stephen among the Jews saw him absent.”

St. Austin is so copious in this argument, and his testimonies so many, that a good choice of them is only necessary. Thus he says :‡ “Therefore our Lord absented himself from every Church, and ascended into heaven, that our faith may be edified ; for if thou knowest nothing but what thou seest, where is faith ?”

Again :§ “Christ is always with us by his divinity ; but unless he were corporally absent from us, we should always carnally see his body, and should never spiritually believe.”

This is a clear testimony that Christ is absent as to his natural body ; and that if it were not so, he would be visible to us still.

Again, expounding those words, “The poor ye have always

* Com. in Luc. 24. Ascende nobis, ut te sequamur mentibus, quem oculis videre non possumus, &c.—Ergo non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem quærere te debemus, si volumus invenire. Nunc enim secundum carnem non novimus Christum. [vol. 1. p. 1538. Par. 1686.]

† Maria quia quærebat in terra, tangere non potuit ; Stephanus tetigit, quia quæsivit in cœlo. Stephanus inter Judæos vidit absentem. [Ibid.]

‡ Serm. 140. de Tempore. Ideo Dominus noster absentavit se corpore ab omni Ecclesia, et ascendit in cœlum, ut fides ædificetur : si enim non nosti nisi quod vides, ubi est fides ? [Serm. 235. vol. 5. p. 1443. Par. 1837.]

§ Serm. 60. de Verb. Dom. Semper quidem Divinitate nobiscum est, sed nisi corporaliter abiret à nobis, semper ejus corpus carnaliter videremus, et nunquam spiritualiter crederemus. [Serm. 143. ibid. p. 998.]

with you, but me ye have not always :”* “He spake this,” says he, “concerning the presence of his body : for according to his majesty, according to his providence, according to his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which he said, Behold I am always with you, &c. But according to the flesh which he assumed, according to what was born of the Virgin, &c. (directly contrary to the Trent Catechism) ye shall not have me always with you.”

And in another place : † “According to the beautiful presence of his divinity, he is always with the Father ; according to his corporal presence he is now above the heavens, at the right hand of the Father (he forgot to add, and in the holy sacrament), but according to the presence of faith, so he is in all Christians.”

What can be more plain than another saying of his? ‡ “We believe on him who sits now at the right hand of the Father ; but yet whilst we are in the body, we are absent as in a strange country from him ; nor can we shew him to those that doubt, to those that deny him, and say, Where is thy God?”

If St. Austin had believed, as the Roman Church does, the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, he could have pointed to him upon the altar, if any had asked, Where is thy God?

Cyril of Alexandria says :§ “Though Christ be absent from the world as to his flesh, yet he is present to those that are in

* Tract. 50. in Joannem. Loquebatur de præsentia corporis sui : nam secundum Majestatem suam, secundum Providentiam, secundum ineffabilem et invisibilem Gratiam, impletur quod ab eo dictum est, Ecce ego vobiscum omnibus diebus, &c. Secundum carnem vero quam assumpsit, secundum id quod de Virgine natum est, &c. non semper habebitis me vobiscum. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 2185.]

† Serm. 120. de diversis. Secundum præsentiam pulchritudinis et divinitatis suæ semper cum patre est ; secundum præsentiam corporalem jam supra cœlos ad dextram patris est ; secundum præsentiam vero fidei in omnibus Christianis est. [Serm. 361. ibid. vol. 5. p. 2089.]

‡ Serm. 74. de diversis. Credimus in eum jam sedentem ad dextram patris ; sed tamen quamdiu sumus in corpore, peregrinamur ab eo ; nec eum dubitantibus, vel negantibus, et dicentibus, Ubi est Deus tuus, valeamus ostendere. [Serm. 210. ibid. p. 1350.]

§ In Joan. 9. 5. Κἂν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου γένηται διὰ τὴν σάρκα, παρῇσι πάλιν οὐδὲν ἤττον τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιστατήσῃ τοῖς ὅλοις ἢ θεία τε καὶ ἄρρητος αὐτοῦ φύσις, οὐδενὸς ἀποδημοῦσα τῶν ὄντων, ἢ ἀπολιμπανομένη τινός, πανταχῇ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι παρούσα καὶ πληροῦσα μὲν τόδε τὸ σύμπαν. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 600.]

him, and to the whole universe, by his divine and ineffable nature; neither is he absent from any creature, nor distant from any, but is every where present to all, and fills the whole universe."

And elsewhere,* speaking of the disciples, who thought it a great loss to them, that being taken up to heaven, he would now be absent according to his flesh, he says, "They ought not only to have respected and looked† to his fleshly presence, but to have understood, that‡ though he was separated from their society according to the flesh, nor could be seen by their bodily eyes, yet that he was present and assistant always by the power of his divinity."

Fulgentius :§ "One and the same (Christ) according to his human substance, was absent from heaven when he was upon earth, and left earth when he ascended up to heaven; but according to his divine and immense substance, neither left heaven when he descended from heaven, nor forsook earth when he ascended into heaven."

Again :|| "How did he corporally ascend into heaven, and yet is said to be in the faithful on earth, unless the immensity of the divinity be in him, which can fill heaven and earth?" Yes, a Romanist would have told him of another way, that even his body could be present in heaven and earth after the manner of a spirit.

Vigilius Taps.:¶ "This was to go to the Father and recede from us, to take from the world the nature that he had taken

* In Joan. 17. 12.

† Εἰς τὴν ἑνσαρκον παρουσίαν. [Ibid. p. 973.]

‡ — Εἰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνουσίας ἀπεννοσφίζοιτο κατὰ σάρκα — ἀλλὰ γε παρόντα καὶ συνόντα διὰ παντὸς τῇ τῆς Θεότητος ἐξουσίᾳ. [Ibid.]

§ Ad Trasimund. l. 2. c. 17. Unus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo cum esset in terra, et derelinquens terram cum ascendisset in cœlum. Secundum Divinam vero immensamque substantiam nec cœlum dimittens, cum de cœlo descendit, nec terram deserens, cum ad cœlum ascendit. [p. 202. Colon. Agr. 1526.]

|| Id. ibid. c. 18. Quomodo corporaliter ascendit in cœlum, et in suis fidelibus prædicatur esse in terra, si non est in illo divinitatis immensitas quæ cœlum implere possit et terram? [Ibid. p. 204.]

¶ Contr. Eutych. l. 1. Hoc erat ire ad patrem et recedere à nobis, auferre de mundo naturam quam susceperat à nobis.—Nam vide miraculum, vide utriusque proprietatis mysterium, Dei filius secundum humanitatem suam recessit à nobis, secundum divinitatem suam ait nobis, Ecce vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, &c.—Quos reliquit et à quibus decessit humanitate sua, non reliquit nec deseruit divinitate sua. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 723. col. 2. Lugd. 1677.]

from us. For see the miracle, see the mystery of both (natures) distinct" (not a word of the mystery of a body being in more places than one); "the Son of God according to his humanity departed from us; according to his divinity he says to us, Behold, I am with you always, &c. Those whom he left and departed from by his humanity, he did not leave nor forsake by his divinity."

Again :* "When Christ was on earth he was not in heaven; and now because he is in heaven he surely is not on earth, &c. Because the Word is every where, but his flesh is not every where, it appears plainly, that one and the same Christ is of both natures, and that he is every where according to the nature of his divinity, and contained in a place according to the nature of his humanity" (which would be a bad argument, if his body were in heaven and in the eucharist at the same time). And then he concludes, "This is the catholic faith and confession which the Apostles delivered, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful now keep and preserve."

Leo Magn. :† "Christ being raised up to heaven in sight of his disciples he put an end to his bodily presence." (So he explains it, that he was to remain at the right hand of his Father till he should come again to judge the quick and dead.)

Bede :‡ "Christ ascending after his resurrection into heaven as a conqueror, left the Church as to his bodily presence, which yet he never left destitute of the security of his divine presence, remaining in the Church always to the end of the world."

This may abundantly suffice to prove the first position.

2. *Position.* The Fathers distinguish the presence of Christ's body from the sacrament of it, which they make to be a memorial and pledge of Christ, as gone away and absent.

St. Chrysostom, § expounding those words, "He that eateth

* Id. *ibid.* l. 4. Quando in terra fuit, non erat utique in cœlo, et nunc quia in cœlo est, non est utique in terra, &c.—Quia verbum ubique est, caro autem ejus ubique non est, apparet unum eundemque Christum utriusque esse naturæ, et esse quidem ubique secundum naturam divinitatis suæ, et loco contineri secundum naturam humanitatis suæ.—Hæc est Fides et Confessio Catholica, quam Apostoli tradiderunt, Martyres roborarunt, et Fideles nunc usque custodiunt. [p. 733. col. 1.]

† *Serm.* 2. de Ascens. Dom. Christus coram Discipulis elevatus in cœlum, corporalis præsentiae modum fecit. [ut supra, p. 294.]

‡ *Com. in Marc.* 13. Christus ad Patrem post resurrectionem victor ascendens, Ecclesiam corporaliter reliquit, quam tamen nunquam divinæ præsidio præsentiae destituit, manens in illa omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi. [vol. 5. p. 188. Colon. Agr. 1612.]

§ In 1 Cor. 11. 29.

and drinketh unworthily; eateth and drinketh judgment;” and asking how that table, which is the cause of so many good things,* “and flows with life,” should be made condemnation to any, resolves it thus: “That this happens not from its own nature, but from the purpose of him that approaches this table. For,”† says he, “as Christ’s presence, which brought those great and unspeakable blessings to us, did condemn those the more that did not receive it, so also the mysteries make way for greater punishments to those that unworthily partake of them.” A remarkable testimony, because we see he distinguishes the presence of Christ from the sacrament of it; compares the one with the other, and because of the relation that the mysteries have to Christ, and that both are intended to convey great blessings, therefore they both, when unworthily treated, occasion greater punishments.

St. Austin :‡ “The flesh and blood of this sacrifice, before Christ’s coming, was promised by victims of resemblance, in the passion of Christ it was exhibited in the truth itself; after Christ’s ascension it is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrance.” Where you see, the sacrament of remembrance is opposed to the exhibition of the truth.

Author *Comm. in Epistolas Pauli (inter Hieronymi Opera)*, § upon those words, “He took bread, and after he had given thanks, he brake it:” “That is,” says he, “blessing us even when he was about to suffer, he left his last memorial with us. Just as if one travelling into another country, should leave a pledge with him whom he loved, that whensoever he looked upon it, he might call to mind his favours and friendship; which such a person, if he perfectly loved him, could not behold without a great passion or weeping.”

* Ζωῆς βρῦνυσα τράπεζα. [vol. 10. p. 293. Par. 1837.]

† “Ὡς περ γὰρ ἡ παρουσία αὐτοῦ, ἣ τὰ μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀπόρρητα κομίζουσα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ, τοῦς μὴ δεξαμένους αὐτὴν μᾶλλον κατέκρινεν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μυστήρια μείζονος ἐφόδια κολάσεως γίνεται τοῖς ἀναξίως μετέχουσι. [Ibid.]

‡ Contr. Faust. l. 20. c. 21. Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinem promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per Sacramentum memoriæ celebratur. [vol. 8. p. 546. Par. 1837.]

§ In 1 Cor. 11. Hoc est, benedicens etiam passurus, ultimam nobis commemorationem sive memoriam dereliquit. Quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat, ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias memorari; quod ille, si perfecte dilexit, sine ingenti desiderio non possit videre, vel fletu. [vol. 11. p. 932. Veron. 1742.]

It will be very hard to reconcile this pledge of absence with such a constant presence of his body as the Church of Rome teaches, even there where we are required to look upon that pledge, and remember our absent friend. Sedulius has the same exposition of the place, almost in the same words.

Primasius also confirms it,* upon those words, "The same night that our Lord was betrayed, he took bread:" "He left," says he,† "to us his last memorial.—God our Saviour gave us an example, that as often as we do this, we may call to mind that Christ has died for us all. Therefore we call it Christ's body, that when we remember this, we may not be unthankful for his grace. As if one that was a dying should leave some pledge to one whom he loved, which he, after his death, whenever he looked upon, could not contain his tears, if he perfectly loved him."

Bede‡ has also given us the same account: "As," says he, "Moses witnesses that the tree of life was placed in the midst of paradise, so by the wisdom of God, to wit, of Christ, the Church has life given it, in whose sacraments of his flesh and blood she now receives the pledge of life, and hereafter shall be made happy in a present sight of him." Where you see he distinguishes this pledge from his present aspect hereafter.

Gaudentius§ calls the eucharist, "that hereditary gift of his new testament, which on the night he was delivered to be crucified, he left with us as a pledge of his presence. This is the provision of our journey, by which we are fed and nourished in this way of life, till, removing from this world, we go to him."

* In 1 Cor. 11.

† Ultimam nobis commemorationem reliquit.—Salvator Deus exemplum dedit, ut quotiescunque hoc facimus, in mente habeamus, quod Christus pro nobis omnibus mortuus est. Ideo nobis dicitur Corpus Christi, ut cum hoc recordati fuerimus, non simus ingrati gratiæ ejus: quemadmodum si quis moriens relinquat ei quem diligit aliquod pignus, quod ille post mortem ejus, quancumque viderit, nunquid potest lacrymas continere, si eum perfecte dilexerit?

‡ In Proverb. lib. 1. c. 3. Sicut in medio Paradisi, lignum vitæ positum testatur Moses, ita par Sapientiam Dei, viz. Christi, vivificatur Ecclesia, cujus et nunc Sacramentis carnis et sanguinis pignus vitæ accipit, et in futuro præsentî beatificatur aspectu. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 645.]

§ In Exod. tract. 2. Vere illud est hæreditarium munus Testamenti ejus novi, quod nobis ea nocte qua tradebatur crucifigendus, tanquam pignus suæ præsentîæ dereliquit. Hoc illud est viaticum nostri itineris, quo in hac via vitæ alimur ac nutrimur, donec ad ipsum pergamus de hoc seculo recedentes.

Still we see it is a pledge of absence.

3. *Position.* Whatsoever presence of Christ the Fathers speak of in the eucharist, they acknowledge the same in baptism, and in as full expressions. So that if we will follow the Fathers, we may as well assert a substantial presence of Christ's body in baptism, as in the eucharist. But this on all hands is denied.

Gaudentius* in the place last cited, speaking of our Lord Jesus, says, "We believe him to be in his sacraments." He had spoke of both sacraments before, and his words may well be understood of both. I am sure other Fathers give their full consent to it.

St. Basil,† speaking of the excellency of Christ's baptism, and the supereminent glory of it, says: "That Christ the Son of God has determined it, that one greater than the temple, and greater than Solomon is here."

So Gregory Nazianzen:‡ "Behold, one greater than the temple is here, to them that perfectly consider."

St. Ambrose,§ speaking of baptism, says: "O Christ, I find thee in thy sacraments."

And again:|| "Believe that there is the presence of the Divinity."

So afterwards:¶ "Believe that the Lord Jesus is present, being invoked by the prayers of the priests."

St. Austin,** upon those words, "The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always," discourses thus concerning having Christ now: "Now thou hast Christ by faith, now thou hast him by the sign of Christ, now by the sacrament of baptism, now by the meat and drink of the altar."

* Tract. 2. in Exod. in fine. — Quem Sacramentis suis inesse credimus.

† De Baptism. lib. 1. cap. 2. Μείζον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὧδε, καὶ μείζον τοῦ Σολομῶντος ὧδε. [vol. 2. p. 895. Par. 1839.]

‡ Orat. 40. Ἴδου μείζον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὧδε, παρὰ τοῖς τελείως λογιζομένοις.

§ Apol. David. c. 12. Christe, in tuis te invenio Sacramentis. [vol. 1. p. 696. Par. 1686.]

|| De his qui initiant. c. 2. Crede illic esse Divinitatis præsentiam. [c. 3.] [vol. 2. p. 327. Par. 1690.]

¶ Ibid. cap. 5. Crede adesse Dominum Jesum invocatum precibus Sacerdotum. [Ibid. p. 332.]

** In Joan. tract. 50. Habes Christum in præsentī per fidem; in præsentī per signum Christi, in præsentī per baptismatis Sacramentum, in præsentī per altaris cibum et potum. [vol. 3. p. 2185. Par. 1837.]

Here you see he makes no difference of having Christ at present these several ways he mentions.

St. Chrysostom :* “As when thou art baptized, it is not he (*viz.* the priest) that baptizes thee, but it is God that holds thy head by his invisible power, and neither angel, nor archangel, nor any other, dare approach and touch thee,” &c.

The same Father† thus speaks of one to be baptized : “Thou shalt presently embrace our Lord himself, be mingled with his body, be incorporated into that body which is seated above, whither the devil cannot approach.”

So the author of the Commentaries upon St. Mark‡ speaks to those that are to be baptized, as if Christ were present : “You that are to receive baptism, first lay fast hold on the feet of your Saviour, wash them with your tears, wipe them with your hair,” &c.

Marcus the hermit,§ speaking of a baptized person, says : “Upon his baptism he has Christ lying hid in him.”

St. Chrysostom again :|| “If Christ be the Son of God, and thou hast put him on (*viz.* in baptism), having the Son in thyself, and being made like to him, thou art brought into one kindred and nature.”

Again elsewhere,¶ speaking of Christ’s partaking of our flesh and blood, he says : “He communicated with us, not we with him : how then are we of his flesh and of his bones?” He means this : “That as he was begotten by the Holy Ghost without the concurrence of man, so are we regenerate in baptism. As therefore the Son of God was of our nature, so

* Hom. 51. in Matth. Lat. Græc. Savil. Hom. 50. p. 322. “Ὡςπερ γὰρ ὅταν βαπτίζῃ, οὐκ αὐτός σε βαπτίζει, ἀλλ’ ὁ Θεός ἐστιν ὁ κατέχων σου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει, καὶ οὔτε ἄγγελος, οὔτε ἀρχάγγελος, οὔτε ἄλλος τις τολμᾷ προσελθεῖν καὶ ἅψασθαι, &c. [vol. 7. p. 581. Par. 1836.]

† Id. Epist. ad Colos. Hom. 6. Αὐτὸν ἐνθέως περιλαμβάνεις τὸν δεσπότην, ἀνακεράννυσαι τῷ σώματι, ἀναβύρη τῷ σώματι τῷ ἄνω κειμένῳ, ἐνθα προσελθεῖν οὐκ ἐν τῷ διαβόλῳ. [Ibid. vol. 11. p. 427.]

‡ Inter Opera Chrysost. Hom. 14. Vos qui accepturi estis Baptismum, primum tenete pedes Salvatoris, lavate lachrymis, crine tergite, &c.

§ De Baptism. Ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ κρυμμένον ἔχει. [Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 45. Venet. 1772.]

|| In Gal. 3. v. 27. Εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνδέδυσαι, τὸν υἱὸν ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφομοιωθεὶς, εἰς μίαν συγγένειαν καὶ μίαν ἰδέαν ἤχθῃς. [ut supra, vol. 10. p. 834.]

¶ In Ephes. 5. v. 30. Ὅτι ὥςπερ ἅνεν συνουσίας ἐκείνος γεγέννηται ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς γεννώμεθα ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ. [Ibid. vol. 11. p. 168.]

are we also of his substance ; and as he had us in himself, so also we have him in ourselves.”* And all this is by baptism.

Cyril of Alexandria† says of the soul, that “it is conjoined perfectly to Christ by holy baptism.” And though every one knows that union supposes presence and nearness, yet this is never made an argument that Christ is present corporally in baptism. No more can such like phrases used by him concerning the eucharist, be urged as a proof it.

St. Hilary‡ speaks many things of our real union with Christ in the sacrament of the eucharist : “We truly receive the Word in the Lord’s food ; how is he not then to be thought naturally to dwell in us?—We under the mystery do truly take the flesh of his body, and thereby shall be one, because the Father is in him, and he in us.—So that since he was in the Father by the nature of the divinity, we on the contrary are in him by corporal nativity, and he might be believed again to be in us by the mystery of the sacraments.”

But then it is observable, that he does not say these great things only of the eucharist, that by partaking of it we have a natural union with Christ ; but he says we have the same by faith, by regeneration, and by baptism :§ “How dost thou not understand a natural unity in those who are one by the nature of one faith?”—Again, “The unity of consent has no place in those who are one in the regeneration of the same nature.”—Again, “What should agreement of wills do here, when they are one by this, that they are clothed with one Christ, by the nature of one baptism?”

I will add but one testimony more, out of Fulgentius ; but

* — ‘Ὡς οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὥς ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνος ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἔχομεν ἐν ἡμῖν. [Ibid. p. 169.]

† Tom. 6. in Collectan. Συναφθεῖσα τελείως τῷ Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος. [p. 39. Lutet. 1638.]

‡ Lib. 8. de Trinit. Nos verè Verbum cibo Dominico sumimus, quomodo non naturaliter manere in nobis existimandus est? &c.—Nos sub Mysterio verè carnem corporis sui sumimus, et per hoc unum erimus, quia Pater in illo est et ille in nobis.—Ut cum ille in Patre per naturam Divinitatis esset, nos contra in eo per corporalem Nativitatem, et ille rursum in nobis per Sacramentorum inesse mysterium crederetur. [vol. 2. p. 222. Veron. 1730.]

§ Ibid. Quomodo non naturalem in his intelligis unitatem, qui per naturam unius fidei unum sunt?—Cessat in his assensus unitas, qui unum sunt in ejusdem regeneratione naturæ.—Quid hic animorum concordia faciet, cum per id unum sint, quod uno Christo per naturam unius Baptismi induantur? [Ibid. p. 218, 219.]

it is very home : “Neither need any one at all doubt, that then every believer is made partaker of our Lord’s body and blood, when he is made a member of Christ in baptism.”*

And yet even this does not infer a substantial presence of Christ in baptism.

To make this position still more full and cogent, let me add, that the Fathers so speak of the waters of baptism, as if they were turned into blood, and we died in that blood, and were baptized in blood ; and yet all these neither prove the presence of Christ’s natural body, nor transubstantiation there.

To name a few testimonies.

St. Jerome,† upon those words, “Wash ye, make ye clean,” says, “Be ye baptized in my blood by the laver of regeneration.”

Again‡ he says of the eunuch : “He was baptized in the blood of the Lamb, whom he read of in the prophet.”

So St. Austin:§ “Whence comes baptism to be red, but because it is consecrated with Christ’s blood?”

Prosper:|| “They are dyed in the blood of Christ in baptism.”

St. Chrysostom,¶ speaking to those that were to receive baptism : “You shall be clothed with the purple garment dyed in the Lord’s blood.”

Julius Firmicus :** “Seek for the noble fountains, inquire for the pure waters, that there, after thy many stains, the blood of Christ with the Holy Spirit may make thee white.”

Cæsarius,†† or the author of the Paschal Homily : “The

* De Bapt. Æthiop. cap. ult. Nec cuiquam aliquatenus ambigendum est, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque Dominici participem fieri, quando in Baptismate membrum Christi efficitur.

† In Esa. 1. Baptizemini in sanguine meo per lavacrum regenerationis. [vol. 4. p. 22. Veron. 1735.]

‡ Baptizatus est in sanguine agni quem legebat. In Esa. 45.

§ In Joan. Tract. 11. Unde rubet Baptismus, nisi sanguine Christi consecratus? [ut supra, p. 1805.]

|| De Promiss. part 2. Baptismo sanguine Christi tinguntur. [Append. p. 125. Par. 1711.]

¶ Catech. ad illuminand. Τὴν πορφύραν περιβάλησθε τῷ αἵματι βαφείσαν δεσποτικῶ. [vol. 2. p. 266. Par. 1834.]

** De Error. Prof. Relig. c. 28. Quære fontes ingenuos, quære puros liquores, ut illic te post multas maculas cum Spiritu S. Christi sanguis incandidet. [p. 315. Wirceb. 1783.]

†† Hom. 5. Paschal. Ingreditur anima vitales undas, velut rubras sanguine Christi consecratas.

soul enters the waters of life, that are red as it were, being consecrated by the blood of Christ."

Isidore of Seville:* "What is the Red Sea, but baptism consecrated by the blood of Christ?"

And again:† "The true Israel enters the Red Sea, to wit, baptism, signed with the blood of Christ."

And Primasius:‡ "The Red Sea signifies baptism, graced with the blood of Christ."

4. *Position.* The Fathers so consider the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, as can no way agree to the presence of his natural and glorified body there.

The Fathers (as I have before proved, see chap. 7. *Observ.* 4. *Reason* 2.) look upon the bread and wine in the eucharist as the representative body of Christ; and thus Christ's body is indeed present by that which is its proxy or pledge: but this presence in a proper sense is absence, and does suppose it.

I shall therefore here only insist upon one consideration of Christ's body there, which can only agree to his representative body, but not to the natural and glorified body of Christ, *viz.*

The presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, which the Fathers speak of, is of his body as crucified, and slain, and dead. Now this cannot agree to his natural body, which, by our adversaries' confession is impassible and invulnerable now it is glorified, and cannot admit any separation of parts, which crucifixion does suppose, nor die any more. It is plain by the words of institution, that the body of Christ there spoken of, is his broken body, such as crucifixion caused, and his blood is considered as shed and poured out of his veins, and separated from his body, which our adversaries that speak of his presence in the sacrament, do not believe.

But the Fathers did believe this, and say so; for which at the present, instead of all, I need cite only St. Chrysostom,§ whose phrase for the eucharist is, "While this death is perfected, this tremendous sacrifice, these ineffable mysteries."

Again:|| "Christ lies before us slain."

* In Exod. c. 19. Quid Mare rubrum, nisi Baptismum Christi sanguine consecratum? [p. 308. col. 2. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

† De Vocat. Gent. c. 23. Verus Israel ingreditur Mare rubrum, baptismum scilicet Christi cruore signatum. [Ibid. p. 388.]

‡ In 1 Cor. 10. Mare rubrum significat Baptismum Christi sanguine decoratum.

§ Hom. 21. in Act. Τοῦ Θανάτου ἐπιτελουμένου ἐκείνου, τῆς φρικτῆς θυσίας, τῶν ἀφάντων μυστηρίων. [ut supra, vol. 9. p. 188.]

|| Homil. de Prodit. Judæ. Ἐσφαγμένος πρόκειται ὁ Χριστός. [Ibid. vol. 2, p. 454.]

In another place :* “While the sacrifice is brought forth, and Christ the Lord’s sheep is slain.”

And elsewhere :† “What dost thou, O man ? Thou swearest upon the holy table, and there thou killest thy brother, where Christ lies slain.”

Again‡ he expresses it thus rhetorically : “When thou seest the Lord slain and lying, and the priest standing by the sacrifice and praying, and all the people purple-dyed in that precious blood,” &c.

Again in another place,§ speaking of the priest standing before the holy table, &c. he adds, “When thou seest the sheep (*viz.* Christ) slain and divided,” &c.

So also elsewhere :|| “O wonderful ! The mystical table being prepared, the Lamb of God slain for thee, &c. his blood emptied into the cup out of his immaculate side, for thy purification, dost thou not fear ?”

This slaying and dividing the body of Christ, this emptying the blood out of his veins, he speaks of, cannot be understood of any thing but of his representative body.

Neither can another saying of his have any other sense ;¶ where telling us how Christ has given us leave to be filled with his holy flesh, he adds, “He has proposed himself before us slain.” So that if we eat his flesh, it must be his dead body ; for so he is set before us to be eaten : but that is impossible.

But all this is easily understood in our way, or rather as he himself has explained it, when he says :** “The mystery is the passion and cross of Christ.”

With which agrees that of St. Austin :†† “He gave his supper, he gave his passion.”

* In Epist. ad Ephes. Hom. 3. Ἐκφερομένης τῆς θυσίας, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τεθυμένου τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ. [Ibid. vol. 11. p. 26.]

† Ad Popul. Antioch. Hom. 15.—Ἐνθα ὁ Χριστὸς κεῖται τεθυμένος. [Ibid. vol. 2. p. 187.]

‡ Lib. 3. de Sacerdotio. Ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν Κύριον τεθυμένον καὶ κείμενον, καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἐφεστῶτα τῷ θύματι καὶ ἐπενχόμενον, καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμῇ φοινισσομένους αἵματι, &c. [Ibid. vol. 1. p. 467.]

§ In Coemeter. appel. Ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸ πρόβατον ἐσφαγιασμένον καὶ ἀπηροτισμένον, &c.

|| De Penit. in Encæn. Τοῦ ἀμνοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ σοῦ σφαγιαζόμενον, &c. Τοῦ αἵματος ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι εἰς σὴν κάθαρσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀκράντου πλευρᾶς κενωμένον, οὐ φοβῶ ;

¶ Hom. 51. in Matth. Τῶν ἀγίων σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐμπλησθῆναι ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν—ἐαυτὸν παρέθηκε τεθυμένον. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 582.]

** Hom. 83. in Matth. Μυστήριόν ἐστι τὸ πάθος καὶ ὁ σταυρός. [Ibid. p. 883.]

†† In Psal. 21. Cœnam suam dedit, passionem suam dedit. [vol. 4. p. 143. Par. 1835.]

Or, as he says in another place,* comparing the Gentiles to those dogs that licked Lazarus's sores: "Yet," says he, "they lick the passion of our Lord in the sacraments of his body and blood with a devout sweetness."

The reader will meet with further testimonies to this purpose afterwards, under the head of eating Christ's body and drinking his blood, which, according to the Fathers, is to be done mystically and spiritually (considered as slain), and therefore his presence must be such too: for his body is present just as it is eaten.

The sum of all is this, that according to the Fathers, Christ is considered in the sacrament as "dead and slain," and therefore can be only present there typically and by representation: for so Cardinal Perron himself confesses:† "The sacrament is not really the body of Christ, put in the actual state of one slain, dead, and without life; nor does it contain it so, but in that respect does only represent it."

5. *Position.* That according to the Fathers, the presence of Christ's body to us now, is a presence to our faith and minds, a presence of union, of efficacy and grace.

This is St. Austin's constant doctrine. I have cited a place out of him before, where reckoning up the several presences of Christ,‡ the "presence of his divinity," so he is with his Father; his "corporal presence," so, he says, he is "now above the heavens, at the right hand of the Father;" and he knows but one more, which is the "presence of faith, by which he is in all Christians."

Thus also elsewhere:§ "Christ is in heaven, but he is also in the hearts of believers."

And again,|| exhorting the Jews to hear and take hold on

* Super Evang. lib. 2. qu. 38.—Tamen passionem Domini in Sacramento corporis et sanguinis ejus suavitate lambunt devotissima. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 1640.]

† De locis Augustin. cap. 3. Sacramentum non est realiter corpus Christi in actuali occisi, mortui et inanimati statu constitutum, nec ea ratione illud continet, sed eatenus tantum repræsentat, &c.

‡ Serm. 120. de diversis.—Secundum præsentiam corporalem jam supra cœlos ad dextram patris est.—Secundum vero præsentiam fidei in omnibus Christianis est. [Ibid. vol. 5. p. 2089.]

§ Serm. 12. de diversis. In cœlo quidem Christus est, sed etiam in corde credentium.

|| In Evang. Joan. tract. 50.—Audiant et teneant. Respondent, Quem tenebo? absentem? Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti: parentes tui tenuerunt carnem, tu tene

Christ, he brings one in asking, "Whom shall I lay hold of? One that is absent?" &c. He answers, "Send forth thy faith, and thou hast hold of him. Thy fathers laid hold of him in his flesh, do thou hold him in thy heart, because Christ who is absent, is also present; for if he were not present, he could not be held by us." But still all is to be done by faith, for the reason he gives: "He brought his body into heaven, but his majesty (*i. e.* his divinity) was not withdrawn from the world."

And afterwards:* "According to the presence of his majesty, we always have Christ; according to the presence of his flesh, it was rightly said to his disciples, Me ye have not always. The Church had him a few days according to his fleshly presence; now it holds him by faith, and sees him not."

So again,† speaking of those whom he kept when he was with them, he says, "These words can be rightly understood of none but those who believing on him, were begun to be kept by him by his corporal presence, and whom he was about to leave by his bodily absence, that he might keep them, together with his Father, by his spiritual presence."

Lastly, St. Austin says:‡ "Our Lord, comforting us, who now, that he sits in heaven, cannot handle him, but only touch him by faith, says to Thomas, Because thou hast seen, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and believe."

St. Cyril of Alexandria agrees perfectly with this doctrine,§

corde, quoniam Christus absens etiam præsens est; nisi præsens esset, à nobis teneri non posset, &c. — Corpus enim suum intulit cœlo, majestatem non abstulit mundo. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 2180.]

* Ibid. propè finem. Secundum præsentiam majestatis semper habemus Christum: secundum præsentiam carnis rectè dictum est discipulis, Me autem non semper habebitis. Habuit illum Ecclesia secundum præsentiam carnis paucis diebus: modo fide tenet, oculis non videt. [p. 2185.]

† In Ev. Joan. tract. 106. Non recte intelliguntur—nisi hi quos in se credentes servare jam cœperat præsentia corporali, et quos relicturus fuerat absentia corporali, ut eos cum patre servaret præsentia spiritali. [Ibid. p. 2383.]

‡ Expos. in Epist. Joan. tract. 1. Dominus consolans nos qui ipsum jam in cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed fide contingere, ait illi, Quia vidisti, et credidisti; beati qui non viderunt et credunt. [Ibid. p. 2483.]

§ In Joan. 13. 33. Διακείσθαι δὲ δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φημι τοὺς ὄνγε φρονοῦσιν ὁρῶς, καὶ ἰδρυμένην ἔχουσι τῆς πίστιν, ὥς εἰ καὶ ἄπεστιν ἡμῶν τῇ σαρκί, τὴν πρὸς θεὸν καὶ πατέρα στείλαμενος ἀποδημίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν τῇ θεῖᾳ δυνάμει περιέπει τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ συμπάρεστι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν, &c. [vol. 4. p. 747. Par. 1638.]

and knows no other presence of Christ now but what is spiritual and divine, since he ascended to the Father, and left the world: "For they that judge aright, and are of a confirmed faith, must be persuaded, that though Christ be absent from us in the flesh, having undertaken a long journey to God and the Father, that yet he compasses all things by his divine power, and is present to them that love him," &c.

And again :* "It seemed to them intolerable, to be separated from Christ, though he was always present with them by the power and efficacy of the Spirit." Elsewhere† he lays it down as a rule, "That Christ's Spirit dwelling in the saints, supplies the presence and power of Christ in his absence."

And many more places I might name out of him.

Their sense is well expressed in that short saying of the author under St. Cyprian's‡ name, which I will again repeat: "Truth is in the sign, and the Spirit in the sacrament."

St. Ambrose § knows of no other presence of Christ now, but what makes the Father to be present with him too, and that is the presence of the Spirit and of grace. His words are very remarkable :|| "The Spirit then so comes, as the Father comes: for the Son said, I and my Father will come, and make our abode with him. What? Does the Father come corporally? (And the same may be asked too of the Son, by what follows.) The Spirit so comes, as that in him when he comes is the full presence of the Father and the Son."—A little after, "We have therefore proved, that there is one presence, and that there is one grace (which explains what the presence is) of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which is so celestial and divine, that the Son gives thanks to the Father for it," &c.

* Ibid. in v. 36. *Ὁὐ φορητὸν εἶναι διεφαίνετο τὸ χωρίζεσθαι Χριστοῦ, καίτοι συνόντος αὐτοῖς διὰ παντὸς τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος δυνάμει τε καὶ συνέργειᾳ.* [Ibid. p. 755.]

† In Joan. 14. 27. *Τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν τε καὶ δύναμιν ἀναπληροῖ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐνοικοῦν.* [14. 26.] [Ibid. p. 838.]

‡ De Unct. Chrismat. Inest Veritas signo, et Spiritus Sacramento. [Cypr. Op. Append. p. cviii. Venet. 1728.]

§ De Spir. Sancti. l. 1. c. 10. *propè finem.* [c. 11.] [vol. 2. p. 625. Par. 1690.]

|| Sic ergo venit Spiritus, quemadmodum venit Pater: dixit enim Filius, Ego et Pater veniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus. Nunquid corporaliter Pater venit? Sic ergo Spiritus venit, in quo cum venit, et Patris et Filii plena præsentia est.—Paulo post, Probavimus igitur unam præsentiam esse, unam gratiam esse, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, quæ tam cœlestis et divina est, ut pro ea gratias agat Patri Filius, &c. [Ibid.]

Bede,* observing how many times Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection, says,† “He designed to shew by these frequent appearances, that he would be spiritually or divinely present in all places at the desire of the faithful. He appeared to the women that wept at the sepulchre; he will be likewise present with us, when we grieve at the remembrance of his absence. He appeared, whilst they broke bread, to those who, taking him for a stranger, gave him entertainment; he will be likewise with us whilst we liberally receive the poor and strangers: he will be likewise with us in the fraction of bread, when we receive the sacraments of his body, which is the living bread, with a pure and chaste heart.”

All this speaks only the presence of his divinity, and no other.

For, as Alcuinus says:‡ “The same Christ who is man, is likewise God; he left them as to his manhood, but remained with them as to his Godhead. He went away, with reference to that, by which he is but in one place, (N.B.) yet tarried with them by his divinity, which is every where.”

All Liturgies, when the eucharist is celebrated, call aloud, “*Ἀνῶ τὰς καρδίας, Sursum corda*, “Lift up your hearts.” The meaning of which we are told by St. Austin:§ “What therefore is said in the sacraments of the faithful, that we should lift up our hearts to the Lord, it is a gift of the Lord.” And he explains it, “That by the divine aid the soul is helped to ascend, and set its affections upon things above, where Christ is sitting at God’s right hand, and not upon things on the earth.”

* Hom. æst. de temp. feria 6. Pasch.

† Hac ergo frequentia corporalis suæ manifestationis ostendere voluit Dominus, ut diximus, in omni loco, se bonorum desideriis divinitus esse præsentem. Apparuit namque ad monumentum lugentibus, aderit et nobis absentiae ejus recordatione salubriter contristatis. Apparuit in fractione panis his, qui se peregrinum esse putantes ad hospitium vocaverunt; aderit et nobis cum peregrinis et pauperibus quæcunque possumus bona libenter impendimus. Aderit et nobis in fractione panis, cum Sacramenta corporis ejus, videlicet panis vivi, casta et simplici conscientia sumimus. [vol. 7. p. 15. Colon. Agr. 1688.]

‡ In Joan. lib. 6. cap. 35. Et idem ipse Christus et homo et Deus. Ergo ibat per id quod homo erat, et manebat per id quod Deus erat. Ibat per id quod in uno loco erat, et manebat per id quod ubique Deus erat [vol. 1. p. 602. Ratisbon. 1777.]

§ De Bono Persev. l. 2. c. 13. Quod ergo in Sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ut sursum corda habeamus ad Dominum, munus est Domini—ut ascendat et quæ sursum sunt sapiat, ubi Christus est in dextra Dei sedens, non quæ super terram, &c. [De Dono Persev. c. 13. vol. 10. p. 1415. Par. 1838.]

St. Jerome's words* are very emphatical: "Let us, with our Lord, ascend the great upper room prepared and made clean, and receive from him *above* the cup of the new testament, and there celebrating the passover with him, be inebriated by him with the wine of sobriety."

All you see is *above*, and our presence too with him there.

St. Chrysostom,† speaking how we ought to approach to the tremendous sacrifice with concord and ardent charity, says, "From thence we become eagles, and so fly to heaven itself: for, where the carcase is, thither will the eagles come.‡ He calls his body the carcase, because of his death; and he calls them eagles, shewing, that he who comes to this body ought to be sublime, and have nothing common with earth, nor be drawn downward and creep, but continually fly upward, and look to the Sun of righteousness, and to have the eye of his mind quick-sighted: for this is a table for eagles, not for jack-daws."

Gregory Nazianzen,§ speaking of his adversaries, says, "Will they drive me from the altars? I know another altar, whose types the things now seen are, upon which no axe has been lift up, no iron tool or other instrument has been heard; but is wholly a work of the mind, and an ascent by contemplation. Before this will I present myself, on this will I offer acceptable things, sacrifice, oblation, and holocausts, so much more excellent than the things now offered, as truth excels a shadow."

If Christ's body were corporally present, it is not conceivable, what better oblation than that we could present, no more than of what other oblation this should be only a type and shadow.

* Ad Hedibiam, qu. 2. Ascendamus cum Domino coenaculum magnum stratum et mundatum, et accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem N. Testamenti, ibique cum eo Pascha celebrantes inebriemur ab eo vino sobrietatis. [Epist. 120. vol. 1. p. 818. Veron. 1735.]

† Hom. 24. in 1 Cor 10.

‡ Πτώμα καλῶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸν θάνατον.—ἀετοὺς δὲ καλεῖ, δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ ὑψηλὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν προσίοντα τῷ σώματι τούτῳ, καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινὸν ἔχειν, μηδὲ κάτω σύρεσθαι καὶ ἔρπειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω πέτεσθαι διηνεκῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνοραῖν, καὶ ὀξυδερκὲς τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας ἔχειν ἀετῶν γάρ, οὐ κολοιῶν αὐτῇ ἢ τράπεζα. [vol. 10. p. 233. Par. 1837.]

§ Orat. 28. contr. Maxim. Οὐ τύποι τὰ νῦν ὀρώμενα. "Ὅλον τοῦ νοῦ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ διὰ θεωρίας ἢ ἀνάβασις.—Κρείττονα τῶν νῦν προσαγομένων, ὅσῳ κρείττον σκιᾶς ἀλήθεια. [vol. 1. p. 484. Par. 1630.]

Ecumenius,* upon those words, “Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith,” says thus: “Seeing there remains nothing visible, neither the temple, that is heaven, nor the High Priest, that is Christ, nor the sacrifice, that is his body; it remains that we have need of faith.”

I shewed before, that the Fathers never make Christ’s body invisible, but only from its distance and absence. And so it must be understood here, that he and his body, the Priest and the sacrifice are invisible, being both in heaven, at that distance which makes heaven itself and its inhabitants invisible to us; and therefore he recommends faith, which can only make them present to us.

Author *Imperfecti Operis in Matthæum*† (among the works of Chrysostom in Latin) has this saying: “If therefore it be so dangerous a thing, to turn the sanctified vessels to private uses, in which is not the true body of Christ, but only the mystery of his body is contained therein; how much more as to the vessels of our body, which God has prepared for himself to dwell in, ought we not to give place to the devil to act in them what he pleases?”

One may trust an adversary as to his opinion of what makes against him; these words were looked upon as so considerable an objection, that an attempt to corrupt them was practised long ago. The learned Archbishop Usher (in the Preface of his Answer to the Jesuit’s Challenge) has observed, “that those words (*in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur*) were left out wholly in an edition at Antwerp, 1537, and at Paris, 1543, and in another at Paris, *apud Audoenum Parvum*, 1557.” Dr. James (in his Corruption of true Fathers, p. 53), says, “Those words are found in all the ancient copies at Oxford, as Archbishop Usher says they were extant in the ancienter editions, as in 1487. And I myself have seen one Paris edition, even in the year 1536 (*apud Claud. Chevallonium*), where those words are extant. So that I conclude, that the Antwerp edition first mentioned

* In Heb. 10. v. 22. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρατὸν οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὁ ναὸς, τουτέστιν ὁ οὐρανός, οὔτε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, τουτέστιν ὁ Χριστός, οὔτε ἡ θυσία, τουτέστι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, χρεῖα λοιπὸν πίστεως. [vol. 2. p. 397. Lut. Par. 1631.]

† Hom. 11. Si ergo vasa sanctificata, ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur; quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quæ sibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in eis quod vult. [Chrysost. Op. vol. 6. Append. p. lxiii. col. 1. Par. 1724.]

(*apud Joan. Steelsius*, 1537), was the first that made the alteration. But then I further observe, that in the large Paris edition in Latin of St. Chrysostom, 1588, which I have by me, those words are inserted indeed in the text, but enclosed within two brackets, with this note in the margin, *Hæc in quibusdam exemplaribus desunt*, which is very fine work, when they themselves had omitted them in the forenamed prints."

They have played the same prank with the same author in another of his homilies (*viz.* Hom. 19), whose words were not favourable to the real presence of Christ's body in the eucharist. The words are these :

"Perhaps thou wilt object,* how can I say that he is not a Christian, whom I see confessing Christ, having an altar, offering the sacrifice of bread and wine, baptizing," &c.

In the Paris edition *apud Audoenum Parvum*, An. 1557, as Dr. James notes, those words *Sacrificium panis et vini*, are changed into these, *Sacrificium corporis et sanguinis Christi*. The Paris edition of 1588 (before mentioned), though it had more conscience than to insert this change into the text, yet so far complied with the cheat, as to put in the margin (*alias*, *Sacrificium corporis et sanguinis Christi*).

If this trade had gone on successfully, they might have had in time a consent of Fathers on their side ; but it can never be without it.

I will conclude this particular with one observation more, of what the reader may find at large discoursed of in a late learned dissertation of Monsieur Allix,† upon occasion of an epistle of St. Austin to Consentius, who inquired of him, "Whether now the body of Christ has bones and blood?" The very reading of that 146th epistle of St. Austin, wherein he plainly, in his answer to that question, betrays his doubting of it, as well as in other of his works ; his distinguishing betwixt Christ's having a true body after his resurrection, and his having flesh and blood ; the testimonies there of other of the ancients, especially of Origen and his followers, that seem plainly to make both the glorified body of Christ, and also of believers, to be of another composition than that of proper flesh

* Sed forte dices, quomodo dicere illum possum, non esse Christianum, quem video Christum confitentem, altare habentem, Sacrificium panis et vini offerentem, baptizantem, &c. [*Ibid.* p. xciii. col. 1.]

† Dissert. de Sanguine D. N. Jesu Christi ad Epist. 146. S. Augustini. Utrum nunc corpus Domini ossa et sanguinem habeat.

and blood ; these, I say, are a demonstration, that the ancient Fathers did not believe any presence of true flesh and blood to be now in the eucharist.

Neither do I think the answer given to this dissertation by Monsieur Boileau, dean of Sens,* to be a satisfactory one in this particular. For though I should grant (which yet I see not sufficiently cleared by him) that generally the Fathers, and St. Austin also, did believe, that Christ had a body, after the resurrection, of the same substance, though differing in qualities, from what he had before ; yet there are three things that he has by no means said any thing material to in his answer.

1. That he has given no account of St. Austin's studious declining to determine any thing in particular about the blood of Christ, when he had never so fair an occasion to do it ; but waves this always, even where he seems, as he does in his *Retractations*, to determine for his having palpable flesh and bones.

2. Why St. Austin should ever at all doubt or hesitate about this matter of Christ's blood after his resurrection, is inconceivable, if he, with the rest of the Fathers, had such a constant belief of its presence in the eucharist, as the Romanists affirm.

3. That though the Fathers use the argument of the eucharist to prove the truth of Christ's body, yet none ever urged Origen or his followers with an argument from thence, to confute their opinions, differing from the pretended common sentiments about the body and blood of Christ, by what lay so plainly before them, of his body and blood being in the eucharist, if they had believed it. But I refer the reader to Monsieur Allix's dissertation, before-named, wherein he may find abundant satisfaction in these matters ; and also will see how sadly the Romanists are put to it, to answer the difficulties about the blood of Christ, which they pretend to shew in so many churches, and is produced in such quantities, that they may well cause a new doubt, whether, if his resurrection-body have any blood in it, we must not suppose it to be of a new creation, since what was in his body when he died cannot suffice to furnish more blood, if so much, as their vials and glasses are filled withal.

* *Disquisit. Theolog. de Sangu. Corporis Christi post resurrectionem.*

CHAP. X.

THE TENTH DIFFERENCE.

The Fathers assert positively, that the substance of the elements remain after Consecration ; that bread and wine are taken, eaten and drunk in the Sacrament ; which all that believe Transubstantiation must deny.

WE have seen before that the Fathers say plainly, that it was bread which Christ called his body, when he blessed it. Now we shall see, that the Fathers are as positive, that after consecration, and the change made by it, yet still the bread and wine remains.

I begin with that famous testimony of St. Chrysostom against the Apollinarians ; produced first by P. Martyr ; by some of our adversaries charged upon him as his forgery, because it was so full against them ; by others shifted off to another, John of Constantinople, and denied to be St. Chrysostom's ; but vindicated for his by the learned Bigotius, who had transcribed it out of the Florentine library of St. Mark's Monastery,* and prepared it for the press in his edition of Palladius ; then suppressed by some doctors of the Sorbonne, and the printed leaves taken out of the book ; but now lately recovered and published to their shame. A passage of which (the subject of this great contest) I shall here set down.

“Christ is both God and man :† God, for that he is impassible ; man for that he suffered. One Son, one Lord, he

* See Append. to the Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, p. 142, 143, &c.

† Deus et homo Christus : Deus propter impassibilitatem, Homo propter Passionem. Unus Filius, unus Dominus, idem ipse proculdubio unitarum naturarum unam dominationem, unam potestatem possidens, etiamsi non consubstantiales existunt, et unaquæque incommixtam proprietatis conservat agnitionem, propter hoc quod inconfusa sunt, [duo] dico. Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur Panis, Panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in ipso permansit, et non duo corpora, sed unum corpus filii prædicatur : Sic et hic Divina ἐνδουσάσης, id est, inundante corporis natura, unum filium, unam personam, utraque hæc fecerunt. Agnoscendum tamen inconfusam et indivisibilem rationem, non in una solum natura, sed in duabus perfectis.

the same without doubt, having one dominion, one power of two united natures ; not that these (natures) are consubstantial, seeing each of them does retain without confusion its own properties, and being two are inconfused in him. For as (in the eucharist) before the bread is consecrated we call it bread ; but when the grace of God by the priest has consecrated it, it has no longer the name of bread, but is counted worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it, and we do not say there are two bodies, but one body of the Son. So here, the divine nature being joined to the (human) body, they both together make one Son, one Person ; but yet they must be acknowledged to remain without confusion, and after an indivisible manner, not in one nature only, but in two perfect natures."

Another remarkable testimony is in Theodoret's Dialogues ; some part of which I hope the reader will not think it tedious to be inserted here, since by observing the thread of his discourse he will see his undoubted sense to be, that the substance of the bread and wine remains in the eucharist, and the change is by addition, not annihilation ; and I will add his Greek where it is needful.

Dial. 1. "*Orthodoxus*. Do you not know that God called his body bread?—*Eranistes*. I know it.—*Orth*. Elsewhere also he calleth his flesh wheat.—*Eran*. I know that also : Unless a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, &c.—*Orth*. But in the delivery of the mysteries he called the bread his body, and that which is mixed (*viz.* wine and water in the cup) blood.—*Eran*. He did so call them.—*Orth*. But that which is his body by nature (*κατὰ φύσιν τὸ σῶμα*) is also to be called his body, and his blood (*viz.* by nature) blood.—*Eran*. It is confessed.—*Orth*. But our Saviour changed the names,* and on his body he imposed the name of the symbol (or sign), and on the symbol he put the name of his body ; and so having called himself a vine, he called the symbol blood.—*Eran*. Very right. But I have a mind to know the reason of this change of names.—*Orth*. The scope is manifest to those that are initiated in divine things. For† he would have those that participate the divine mysteries not to attend to the

* Τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος. [vol. 4. p. 26. Hal. 1772.]

† Μὴ τῷ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀναλλαγῆς, πιστεύειν τῷ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγεννημένῳ μεταβολῷ. [Ibid.]

nature of those things that are seen, but upon the changing of the names to believe the change that is made by grace. For he that called his body, that is so by nature, wheat and bread, and again termed himself a vine,* he honoured the visible symbols with the appellation of his body and blood, not altering nature, but to nature adding grace."

Proceed we now to the next dialogue.

Dial. 2. "*Orth.* The mystical symbols offered to God by the priests, pray tell me what are they signs of?—*Eran.* Of the Lord's body and blood.—*Orth.* Of his body truly or not truly such?—*Eran.* Of that which is truly (his body.)—*Orth.* Very right. For there must be an original of an image (τῆς εἰκότος ἀρχέτυπον), for painters imitate nature and draw the images of visible things.—*Eran.* True.—*Orth.* †If then the divine mysteries are antitypes of a true body, then the Lord's body is a true body still, not changed into the nature of the Deity, but filled with 'divine glory.—*Eran.* You have seasonably brought in the discourse of the divine mysteries; for thereby I will shew that the Lord's body is changed into another nature. Answer therefore my question.—*Orth.* I will.—*Eran.* What call you the gift that is offered before the priest's invocation?—*Orth.* I may not openly declare it, for perhaps some here present may not be initiated.—*Eran.* Answer then enigmatically.—*Orth.* I call it the food that is made of a certain grain.—*Eran.* How call you the other symbol?—*Orth.* By a common name that signifies a kind of drink.—*Eran.* But how do you call it after consecration?—*Orth.* The body of Christ, and the blood of Christ.—*Eran.* And do you believe you partake the body and blood of Christ?—*Orth.* Yes, I believe it.—*Eran.* As then the symbols of Christ's body and blood are one thing before the priest's invocation, but after the invocation are changed and become another thing; so the Lord's body, after his assumption, is changed into a divine essence.—*Orth.* You are caught in a net of your own weaving. ‡For after sanctification the mystical symbols

* Οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσσηγορία τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. [Ibid.]

† Τοῦ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπα. [Ibid. p. 125.]

‡ Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστι, καὶ ἄπτα, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. [Ibid. p. 126.]

do not depart from their own nature ; for they remain still in their former substance, and figure and form, and may be seen and touched just as before. But they are understood to be that which they are made, and are believed and venerated, as being those things they are believed to be.”

How shamefully Mr. Sclater has attempted to pervert these last words of Theodoret, he has been told sufficiently by his Answerer.

The next testimony is of Gelasius,* bishop of Rome : “The sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we take are surely a divine thing, for which reason we become by them partakers of the divine nature ; and yet the substance or nature of bread and wine does not cease to be ; and indeed the image and likeness of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries ; therefore it appears plainly enough to us, that we ought to think that of our Lord, which we profess and celebrate and receive in his image ; that as they (*viz.* the elements) pass into the divine substance, the Holy Spirit effecting it, their nature still remaining in its own property ; so that principal mystery, whose efficiency and virtue these (the elements) truly represent to us, remains one entire and true Christ ; those things of which he is compounded (*viz.* the two natures) remaining in their properties.”

Ephrem Antiochenus,† treating of the two natures (which he calls palpable and impalpable, visible and invisible) united in Christ, adds, “Thus the body of Christ which is received by the faithful, does not depart from its sensible substance, and yet

* De duabus naturis in Christo. Certe Sacramenta quæ sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ ; et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini ; et certe Imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et sumimus ; ut sicut in hanc, sc. in Divinam transeunt Spiritu S. perficiente substantiam, permanente tamen in sua proprietate natura, sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam Virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum verumque permanere. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 703. Lugd. 1677.]

† Apud Photii Biblioth. cod. 229. Οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται, καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα καὶ πνευματικὸν ὅλον γενόμενον καὶ ἐν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὁ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν. [p. 794. Rothom. 1653.]

remains unseparated from the intellectual grace. So baptism becoming wholly spiritual and one, it preserves its own sensible substance, I mean water, and does not lose what it is made to be.

Our adversaries, to testify the respect they have for the Fathers, when they do not speak as they would have them, they try to make them speak so as nobody shall understand their true sense. And as the Putney convert did by Theodoret, so the Jesuit Andr. Schottus (not for want of skill, but honesty) has dealt with this of Ephrem, making it, by his translation, obscure, or rather unintelligible nonsense. For the first words τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται, he translates, *sensibilis essentie non cognoscitur*, “it is not known of a sensible nature;” and the other expression about baptism, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς, οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει, he turns thus: *Hocque substantie sensibilis proprium est, per aquam, inquam, servat*; “and this is the property of sensible substance, it keeps, I say, by water.” A good man cannot take more pains to find out truth, than this man does that it may be lost.

The next testimony is of Facundus,* the African bishop: “Christ vouchsafed to receive the sacrament of adoption, both when he was circumcised and when he was baptized; and the sacrament of adoption may be called adoption, just as we call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, his body and blood. Not that properly bread is his body, and the cup his blood, but because they contain in them the mystery of his body and blood. Hence it is, that our Lord himself called the bread and cup he blessed and gave to his disciples, his body and blood.”

Nothing can be more positive than these five testimonies, that the bread and wine remain in their substance after consecration. And I cannot but here add the remarkable confession of an adversary concerning two of them.

For thus Cardinal Alan says: “Concerning these two, Gelasius and Theodoret, I readily persuade myself that they are the only persons in all antiquity (though I have already pro-

* Lib. 9. Defens. 3. capit. cap. 5. Sacramentum adoptionis suscipere dignatus est Christus, et quando circumcisis est et quando baptizatus est: et potest Sacramentum adoptionis adoptio nuncupari, sicut Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et poculo consecrato, corpus ejus et sanguinem dicimus; non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis sanguinisque contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit.

duced three more of their mind) who inclined to that, which was afterwards a common error, so to defend the true conversion of bread, that they granted the matter of the element to remain, as they saw it did in all other natural transmutations.”*

But we will try whether the rest of the Fathers did not also speak the same thing.

Justin Martyr,† speaking of the oblation of fine flour for those that were cleansed from leprosy, says, “It was a type of the bread of the eucharist, which our Lord Jesus Christ commanded us to make in memory of his passion.” What we make (as was shewed, c. 8. observ. 7.) can be only bread, not Christ’s body in a proper sense.

Again,‡ telling us of the bishop’s praying and giving thanks over the elements, he adds, “that the deacons give to every one present leave to take of the bread and wine of the eucharist.”

That this was his sense appears further by another character he gives of it in the same place, when he calls it§ “food by which our flesh and blood by a change are nourished.”

What he says in another place,|| of Christians remembering their Lord’s passion “by their dry and wet food,” can agree only to bread and wine, which therefore must be supposed to remain.

St. Irenæus¶ asserts with Justin, that the bread and cup of the eucharist is that, “by which the substance of our flesh is nourished and consists.”

In another place** he not only says, that our flesh is nou-

* De Euchar. Sacram. l. 1. c. 35. De duobus, Gelasio et Theodoro, facile mihi persuadeo, eos solos esse ex omni Antiquitate, qui inclinaverunt in communem postea multorum errorem, ut ita defenderent veram conversionem panis, ut materiam Elementi, sicut in cæteris naturalibus transmutationibus fieri videbant, relictam esse concederent, &c.

† Dial. cum Tryph. Τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν.

‡ Apol. 2. Οἱ διάκονοι διδῶσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἶνου, καὶ ὕδατος. — [Apol. 1. p. 83. Par. 1742.]

§ Τροφή ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν. [Ibid.]

|| Dial. cum Tryph. p. 345. Edit. Paris. 1615. Τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς.

¶ L. 5. adv. Hæres. c. 2. Ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia. [vol. 1. p. 294. Venet. 1734.]

** Ibid. l. 4. c. 34. Carnem quæ à corpore Domini et sanguine alitur. [p. 251. col. 1.]

rished by the body and blood of our Lord, but adds: "As the bread that is from the earth, perceiving the Lord's invocation, is not now common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and an heavenly," &c.* Though not common bread, yet bread still, because else it would consist only of one thing, *viz.* Christ's body, and no earthly thing besides.

Origen:† "If every thing that enters into the mouth goes into the belly and is cast into the draught, then also the food that is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, as to the material part of it (which can be nothing but bread), goes into the belly, &c. but in respect of the prayer that is superadded—it becomes profitable, &c.‡ Nor is it the matter of the bread, but the word that is said over it, that profits him that eats it not unworthily of the Lord."

Cyprian:§ "We have found that it was a mixed cup which our Lord offered, and that it was wine which he called his blood."

Macarius:|| "In the Church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of his flesh and blood, and they that are partakers of the visible bread, do spiritually eat the flesh of the Lord."

Epiphanius,¶ in a place I before cited, speaking of the eucharist, says, "that the bread is food, but the virtue that is in it, is for begetting life. It does not cease to be food, though the quickening power is all from the grace and Spirit of God in it."

St. Ambrose, speaking of the benediction of Asher, His bread is fat, &c. says, "Christ gave this bread to the Apostles, to divide it among believing people; and now he gives it to us,

* *Quemadmodum qui est à terra panis, percipiens invocationem Domini, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti, &c.* [Ibid. col. 2.]

† Comm. in Matth. 15. v. 15. p. 254. Edit. Huet. [vol. 3. p. 499. Par. 1740.] — *Καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρώμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν-τεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρώνα ἐκβάλλεται.*

‡ *Καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελὼν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσα αὐτόν.* [Ibid. p. 500.]

§ Epist. ad Cæcilium, l. 2. Ep. 3. alias 63. *Invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem Dominus obtulit, et vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit.* [p. 228. Venet. 1728.]

|| Homil. 27. *Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντί-τυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου, πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι.*

¶ In Compend. Fidei. *Καὶ βρώσις μὲν ὁ ἄρτος, ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ζωογόνησιν.* [vol. 1. p. 1098. Colon. 1682.]

when as the priest daily consecrates with his words. This bread is made to be the food of saints.”*

St. Austin :† “We only call that the body and blood of Christ, which being taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by mystical prayer, we rightly receive to our spiritual health in memory of our Lord’s passion. Which, when it is by the hands of men brought to that visible substance, is not sanctified to become so great a sacrament, unless the Spirit of God invisibly operate.”

Again :‡ “Bread made for this purpose is consumed in receiving the sacrament. But it is neither received nor consumed till it be consecrated, nor then but when eaten.”

And again elsewhere :§ “The eucharist is our daily bread ; but let us so receive it, that we may not only have refreshment for our bellies, but for our minds.”

Upon this account it is, that looking upon the sacrament as a refreshing food to our bodies (as St. Austin here speaks), the ancients believed, that by partaking of the eucharist, they broke their fasts ; this appears beyond all question in what Tertullian says ;|| who in resolving a doubt that troubled some minds, what they should do, when it happened that by a private vow they undertook a strict fast (which obliged them not to take any refreshment till evening), and this fell out upon a station day (which was usually Wednesdays and Fridays), when the fast was ended at three o’clock by receiving the communion. “Most think,” says he, “that on the station days they ought not to be present at the prayers of the sacrifices

* De Benedict. Patriarch. c. 9. Hunc panem dedit Apostolis, ut dividerent populo credentium, hodiéque dat nobis eum, quum ipse quotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis. Hic panis factus est esca Sanctorum, [vol. 1. p. 524. Par. 1686.]

† L. 3. de Trin. c. 4. Corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus illud tantum, quod ex frugibus terræ acceptum et prece mystica consecratum, rite sumimus ad salutem spiritualem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ Passionis ; quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducitur, non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum Sacramentum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei. [vol. 8. p. 1225. Par. 1837.]

‡ Idem. Ibid. c. 10. Panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo Sacramento consumitur. [p. 1232.]

§ Serm. 9. de Divers. cap. 7. Eucharistia panis noster quotidianus est ; sed sic accipiamus illum, ut non solum ventre sed et mente reficiamur. [Ibid. vol. 5. p. 478.]

|| Lib. de Orat. c. 14. ad finem. Stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Dominico. [Op. par. 2. p. 10. Lips. 1839.]

(when the eucharist was administered), because the fast was broken upon receiving the Lord's body." Tertullian excepts not against this reason, but grants it, and finds out such an expedient as would be counted ridiculous in the Roman Church (where this of the sacrament's breaking the fast is not believed) which is, to be present, and to take the sacrament, and reserve it to be eaten at night.

"By receiving the Lord's body," says he,* "and reserving it, both is solved, both the partaking of the sacrifice (*i. e.* of the eucharist given at three o'clock), and the execution of their duty," (he means of fasting till evening, according to their vow, and eating the sacrament then, and not before.) But to proceed with our testimonies.

Hesychius :† "God therefore commanded flesh to be eaten with bread, that we might understand, that that mystery (*viz.* the eucharist) was spoken of by him, which is both bread and flesh, as the body of Christ the living bread that descended from heaven." It can be only bread and flesh in our way, for in that of transubstantiation it is only flesh and no bread.

St. Austin :‡ "Of the very bread Judas and Peter both took a part, and yet what society, what agreement, what part has Peter with Judas?"

Again :§ "The Fathers did eat the same spiritual meat with us, but the corporeal was different ; they did eat manna, we another thing (he means bread)—and they all drank the same spiritual drink, they one thing, we another, another as to the visible substance, but in spiritual virtue signifying the same thing."

And again elsewhere : "Behold, while faith remains the same, the signs are varied. There (in the wilderness) the rock

* *Accepto corpore Dominico et reservato, utrumque salvum est, et participatio Sacrificii et executio officii. [Ibid.]*

† In Levit. l. 2. c. 8. Propterea carnes cum panibus comedi præcipiens, ut nos intelligeremus illud ab eo mysterium dici, quod simul panis et caro est, sicut Corpus Christi panis vivi qui de cœlo descendit.

‡ Lib. cont. Donatist. c. 6. De ipso pane et de ipsa Dominica manu, et Judas partem et Petrus accepit ; et tamen quæ societas, quæ consonantia, quæ pars Petri cum Juda ? [ut supra, vol. 9. p. 982.]

§ Id. Tract. in Joan. 26. Patres manducaverunt spiritualem utique eandem (escam) non corporalem alteram, quia illi Manna, nos aliud —et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, aliud illi, aliud nos, sed specie visibili quidem, tamen hoc idem significante virtute spirituali. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 1984.]

was Christ; to us that which is placed on the altar (*viz.* bread) is Christ; and they drank the water that flowed from the rock for a great sacrament of the same Christ; what we drink the faithful know (*viz.* wine), if you regard the visible substance, it is another thing; if the spiritual signification, they drank the same spiritual drink.”*

Again, in another place :† “ We have received to-day the visible food; but the sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another.”

That which he calls here *cibus visibilis* (the visible food), a little after St. Austin calls it *visibile sacramentum* (a visible sacrament), where he distinguishes this again from the *virtus sacramenti* (the virtue of the sacrament), so that the visible food, and the visible sacrament, with him are the same.

I have already produced the testimonies (*vid.* chap. 8. observ. 5) where the Fathers make what is distributed in the eucharist to be without life or sense; which can be true of nothing else but of the bread and wine. So that unless we make them distribute what they had not consecrated, the bread and wine must remain after consecration.

The same is also evidently proved from another common assertion of the Fathers, that Christ offered the same oblation with Melchizedek.

St. Cyprian :‡ “ Who was more a priest of the most high God, than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered this same that Melchizedek had offered, that is bread and wine, to wit, his body and blood ?” Which indeed the wine and bread was by representation, but if you understand this of proper flesh and blood offered in the eucharist, then it is not the same oblation with that of Melchizedek.

* Id. Tract. 45. in Joan. Videte ergo, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi Petra Christus, nobis Christus quod in altari ponitur; et illi pro magno Sacramento ejusdem Christi biberunt aquam profluentem de Petra, nos quid bibamus norunt fideles. Si speciem visibilem intendas, aliud est; si intelligibilem significationem, eundem potum spiritualem biberunt. [Ibid. p. 2132.]

† Tract. 26. in Joan. Nam et nos hodie accepimus visibilem cibum; sed aliud est Sacramentum, aliud est virtus Sacramenti. [Ibid. p. 1983.]

‡ Lib. 2. Epist. 3. Quis magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui Sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedec obtulerat, id est, panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem? [p. 226. Venet. 1728.]

Isidore Peleusiota :* “Melchizedek performed his sacred office in bread and wine, by which he foresignified the type of the divine mysteries.”

Eusebius :† “For as he (Melchizedek) being a priest of the Gentiles, never seems to have made use of bodily sacrifices, but blessed Abraham only in bread and wine : after the same manner also, first our Lord and Saviour himself, then all the priests that derive from him, performing in all nations their spiritual function according to the ecclesiastical sanctions, by bread and wine do express the mysteries of his body and saving blood, Melchizedek having foreseen these things by a Divine Spirit, and having used before these images of future things.”

St. Jerome :‡ “Melchizedek by bread and wine, which is a simple and a pure sacrifice, did dedicate Christ’s sacrament.”

St. Austin :§ “Melchizedek, bringing forth the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper (*i. e.* bread and wine), knew how to figure Christ’s eternal priesthood.”

Again upon these words,|| “Thou art a priest for ever,” &c. He adds, “Since now there is nowhere any priesthood or sacrifice, according to the order of Aaron ; and that is everywhere offered under Christ the Priest, which Melchizedek brought forth when he blessed Abraham.”

In many other places St. Austin says the same.

Arnobius :¶ “Christ by the mystery of bread and wine, is made a priest for ever.”

* Lib. 1. Epist. 431. ad Pallad. Μελχισεδέκ ἄρτω καὶ οἶνῳ ἱερατεύων, δι’ ὧν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων προεσήμαινε τύπον. [p. 110. Par. 1638.]

† Lib. 5. Dem. Evang. c. 3. “Ὡςπερ ἐκεῖνος (Melchisedeck) ἱερεὺς ἔθνων τυγχάνων, οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται θυσίαις σωματικαῖς κεχρημένος, οἶνῳ δὲ μόνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εὐλογῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον, &c.—οἶνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ, τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος αἰνίττονται τὰ μυστήρια, τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ ταῦτα πνεύματι θείῳ προτε θεωρηκότος, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ταῖς εἰκόσι προκεχρημένου. [p. 223. Colon. 1688.]

‡ Epist. ad Evagrium. Melchisedec pane et vino, simplici puroque sacrificio, Christi dedicaverit Sacramentum.

§ Epist. 95. Melchisedec prolato Sacramento coenæ Dominicæ novit æternum ejus sacerdotium figurare. [ut supra, vol. 2. p. 935.]

|| L. 17. de Civit. Dei, c. 17.—Ex eo quod jam nusquam est Sacerdotium et Sacrificium secundum ordinem Aaron, et ubique offertur sub sacerdote Christo, quod protulit Melchisedec, quando benedixit Abraham. [Ibid. vol. 7. p. 760.]

¶ In Psal. 109. Christus per mysterium panis et vini factus est sacerdos in æternum. [Max. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 301. Lugd. 1677.]

St. Chrysostom :* “Why did he say, a priest after the order of Melchizedek? Even because of the mysteries, because he also brought out bread and wine to Abraham.”

Isidore of Seville :† “Let us not offer the victims of beasts according to Aaron, but let us offer in sacrifice the oblation of bread and wine, that is the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood.”

Bede :‡ “Our Redeemer is therefore called a priest, after the order of Melchizedek, because, taking away the legal sacrifices, he instituted the same kind of sacrifice (*viz.* bread and wine) should be offered under the New Testament, for the mystery of his body and blood.”

What the Scriptures acquaint us with, that after the blessing of the bread, Christ brake it and gave it to his disciples, is also insisted on by the Fathers as done in the eucharist, in order to the distributing of it to the receivers.

But Bellarmine says expressly,§ “That our breaking is not made for distribution, but to signify a certain mystery.” Therefore in the Roman Church, that which they give in the sacrament to the people is whole, and not broken off from any other thing. Wherein they differ from the Fathers, for their eucharist was what the Apostles call breaking of bread, Acts ii. 46, and the Jesuit Lorinus|| upon that place observes, “that it was the manner of the Primitive Church, to make one loaf, and when they had consecrated it, to break it into so many parts as there were communicants, as Christ also did in his supper.” And thus it is 1 Cor. x. 17 : “There is one bread, &c. and we being many are one body, for we all partake of one bread.”

This fraction, though the Fathers express it as if it were

* Comment. in Psal. 110. vel 109. — καὶ διὰ τὰ μυστήρια, ὅτι ἐπέκεινος ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον προσήνεγκε τῷ Ἀβραάμ. [vol. 5. p. 314. Par. 1836.]

† In Genesin, cap. 12. Non secundum Aaron pecudum victimas, sed oblationem panis et vini, id est, corporis et sanguinis ejus Sacramentum in Sacrificium offeramus. [p. 291. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

‡ Hom. de 55. in Vigil. S. Jo. Bapt. Redemptor noster ideo sacerdos esse dicitur secundum ordinem Melchisedec, quia, ablatis victimis legalibus, idem sacrificii genus in mysterium sui corporis et sanguinis in N. Testamento offerendum instituit. [vol. 7. p. 96. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

§ L. 1. de Missa, c. 27. Nostra fractio non fit ad distribuendum, sed ad certum mysterium significandum.

|| Lorinus in Act. 2. v. 46. Panem unum conficere, atque illum consecraturum in tot partes frangere, quot erant communicantes, sicut et Christus in cœna fecit.

done to the proper body of Christ, yet they mean it only of the bread that represents it; and therefore that must remain, for there is nothing else to be broken.

When therefore St. Chrysostom says,* “that upon the cross a bone of him was not broken, but what Christ did not suffer upon the cross, that he suffers in the oblation for thy sake, and suffers himself to be broken, that he may fill us all:” this cannot be meant of any thing but what represents his body torn and rent, *viz.* bread.

So St. Austin† speaks of that upon the Lord’s table, which is blessed and sanctified, and broke in small pieces to be distributed. Which can be only bread.

And this elsewhere‡ he expresses more plainly: “Paul,” says he, “broke bread that night, as it is broken in the sacrament of the body of Christ.”

Again St. Austin thus exhorts:§ “Let us eat Christ; he lives though eaten, for he arose though slain. Neither when we eat him, do we make parts of him; so indeed we do in the sacrament, and the faithful know how they eat the flesh of Christ (there). Every one takes a part,” &c.

This is a very remarkable testimony, because of the distinction he makes between Christ’s proper body, and that in the eucharist, affirming quite different things of them, as this of taking and eating a part, which is only true of the bread. For as for the true body of Christ, we are informed by another,

Chrysologus:|| “Christ cannot be eaten and divided. He is taken whole of believers, he is received whole in the mouth of the heart.”

I will conclude this chapter with the sayings of three great persons among the Fathers, who positively assert what I have been proving, that the bread and wine remain in the eucharist.

* Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. tom. 3. Edit. Savil. p. 397.—’Αλλ’ ὅπερ οὐκ ἔπαθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦτο πάσχει ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς διὰ σέ, καὶ ἀνέχεται διακλόμενος, ἵνα πάντα ἐμπλήσῃ. [vol. 10. p. 250. Par. 1837.]

† Epist. 59.—Et ad distribuendum comminuitur. [Epist. 149. vol. 3. p. 761. Par. 1836.]

‡ Epist. 86.—Sicut frangitur in Sacramento Corporis Christi. [Epist. 36. *ibid.* p. 117.]

§ August. apud Bedam in 1 Cor. 11. Manducemus Christum; vivit manducatus, quia surrexit occisus: nec quando manducamus, partes de illo facimus, et quidem in Sacramento id fit; et norunt fideles, quemadmodum manducant carnem Christi, unusquisque accipit partem, &c.

|| Serm. 159. Non potest Christus edi et dividi. Integer à credentibus sumitur, integer in ore cordis recipitur.

St. Chrysostom,* who says expressly, “When our Lord delivered the mysteries, he delivered wine.”

St. Austin :† “To eat bread is the sacrifice of Christians in the New Testament.”

Fulgentius :‡ “Now, that is, in the time of the New Testament, the holy catholic Church, throughout the whole earth, does not cease to offer in faith and charity, the sacrifice of bread and wine to Christ, with the Father and Holy Spirit, who have one divinity together with him.”

CHAP. XI.

THE ELEVENTH DIFFERENCE.

The Fathers make the bread and wine to be the sacrament, sign, figure, type, antitype, image, &c. of Christ's body and blood. They of the Church of Rome make either the accidents subsisting without a subject, or the body of Christ latent under those accidents, to be the sacrament, sign, figure, &c. and not the substance of bread and wine, which they say is abolished. Therefore they have no sacrament such as the Fathers assert.

I MIGHT give in here a very large collection out of the Fathers, calling the bread and wine by all those names above mentioned ; but to avoid tediousness, I shall only select some few of them (enow to prove the truth of what I have asserted) under the several heads.

St. Ambrose :§ “It is the true flesh of Christ that was buried; therefore it (*viz.* the eucharist) is truly the sacrament of his flesh.”

* Hom. 83. in Matth. Ἡνίκα τὰ μυστήρια παρέδωκεν, οἶνον παρέδωκε. [vol. 7. p. 885. Par. 1836.]

† De Civ. Dei, lib. 17. cap. 5. Manducare panem, est in N. Testamento sacrificium Christianorum. [ut supra, vol. 7. p. 740.]

‡ De fide ad Petrum, cap. 19. Christo nunc, id est, tempore N. Testamenti, cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, cum quibus una est illi Divinitas, Sacrificium panis et vini in fide et charitate Sancta Ecclesia Catholica per universum orbem terræ offerre non cessat. [Inter Augustin. Oper. vol. 6. Append. p. 1128. Par. 1837.]

§ De iis qui initiant. c. 9. Vera utique caro Christi, quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est, vere ergo carnis illius est Sacramentum. [vol. 2. p. 339. Par. 1690.]

St. Austin :* “How is the bread his body, and the cup, or what the cup contains, his blood? These, brethren, are therefore called sacraments, because in them we see one thing, and understand another.”

Again :† “When the Lord came to the supper, wherein he commended the sacrament of his body and blood.”

Facundus :‡ “Christ’s faithful ones, receiving the sacrament of his body and blood, are rightly said to receive his body and blood.” And he had said before, “Not that the bread is properly his body, and the cup his blood, but because they contain in them the mystery of his body and blood.”

Isidore,§ speaking of the bread and wine, says, “These two are visible, but being sanctified by the Holy Spirit they pass into a sacrament of his divine body.”

They call them also symbols.

Origen,|| having discoursed (as we heard before) of the eucharist, concludes thus: “Thus much may suffice concerning the typical and symbolical body.” And distinguishes it from the Word that was made flesh, which he calls true food.

Eusebius :¶ “Having received a command to celebrate the memory of this sacrifice upon the table, by the symbols of his body and saving blood, according to the ordinances of the New Testament.”

Theodoret,** not only in the large testimony produced out of

* Serm. ad recién. Baptiz. Quomodo est panis corpus ejus, et calix, vel quod habet calix, sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur Sacramenta, quia in iis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. [Serm. 272. ut supra, vol. 5. p. 1614.]

† In Psal. 68. conc. 1. Cum veniret Dominus ad coenam, qua commendavit Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui. [Ibid. vol. 4. p. 985.]

‡ Defens. 3. capit. 1. 9. Christi fideles Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus accipientes, corpus et sanguinem Christi recte dicuntur accipere —non quod propriè corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis sanguinisque contineant.

§ De Offic. Eccles. l. 1. c. 18. Hæc duo sunt visibilia, sanctificata autem per Spiritum Sanctum in Sacramentum Divini Corporis transeunt. [p. 395. col. 2. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

|| Comm. in Matth. 15. Καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος. [vol. 3. p. 500. Par. 1740.]

¶ Dem. Evang. l. 1. cap. 10. Τούτον τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμούς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες &c. [p. 39. Colon. 1688.]

** Comm. in 1 Cor. 13. Ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ βαπτίσματι τὸν τύπον ὁρῶμεν τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τότε δὲ αὐτὴν ὁψώμεθα τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Ἐν ταῦθα τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θεώμεθα σώματος, ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁψώμεθα τὸν δεσπότην. [vol. 3. p. 255. Hal. 1771.]

him in the last chapter, calls the bread and wine the symbols of Christ's body and blood, but says thus elsewhere: "In the most holy baptism we see a type of the resurrection, then we shall see the resurrection itself. Now we see the symbols of the Lord's body, there we shall see the Lord himself."

They call them signs.

St. Austin :* "Our Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body."

St. Ambrose,† of the bread: "Before the benediction of the heavenly words, another species is named, after the consecration the body of Christ is signified."

St. Cyprian:‡ "Neither can the blood of Christ, whereby we are redeemed and quickened, be seen to be in the cup, when wine is wanting in the cup, whereby the blood of Christ is shewn." Speaking against those that used only water.

Tertullian:§ "Neither did he reject bread, whereby he represents his own body."

St. Jerome:|| "Christ," says he, "took bread that comforts man's heart, and proceeded to the true sacrament of the passover, that like as Melchizedek the priest of the High God had done, when he offered bread and wine, so he also might represent the truth of his body and blood."

It is a very trifling objection that our adversaries make both to this and the former testimony in Tertullian, that the word *repræsentare* (to represent) signifies very often to exhibit a thing, and make it present; for though it should be granted, it would not help their cause, since they both say, that it is bread that represents his body, which therefore must remain, since that which is not, cannot act any thing: but then I add, that though in some cases to represent is to exhibit, yet never in the case of sacraments and signs, for their essence consists

* Contr. Adimant. c. 12. Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui. [ut supra, vol. 8. p. 224.]

† De iis qui init. c. 9. Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem Corpus Christi significatur. [vol. 2. p. 339. Par. 1690.]

‡ Nec potest videri sanguis ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in calice, quùm vinum desit calici, quo Christi sanguis ostenditur. Epist. ad Cæcilium. [Epist. 63. p. 225. Venet. 1728.]

§ L. 1. adv. Marcion. Nec panem reprobavit, quo ipsum Corpus suum repræsentat.

|| In Matth. 26.—Ut quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedec summi Dei sacerdos panem et vinum offerens fecerat, ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret. [vol. 7. p. 216. Veron. 1738.]

in signification, therefore their representation as signs, must be to denote and shew rather something absent which they represent, than to make it present.

They call them also types.

Cyril of Jerus. : * “He bids us receive the bread and wine with all certainty, as the body and blood of Christ ; for in the type of the bread his body is given to thee, and in the type of wine his blood.”

Greg. Nazianzen : † “We shall receive the passover now in a type still, though more clear than that of the old law (for the legal passover, I am bold to say it, was an obscure type of a type), but within a while we shall receive it more perfect and more pure.”

St. Jerome‡ upon those words of Jeremiah xxxi : “They shall flow unto the goodness of the Lord, for wheat, and wine and oil,” adds, “Of which is made the Lord’s bread, and the type of his blood is filled, and the blessing of sanctification is shewn.”

Theodoret calls the eucharist, § “the venerable and saving type of Christ’s body.”

Another name is antitypes, signifying the same with the former.

Author *Constitutionum*|| under the name of Clemens Roman. : “Christ delivered to us the mysteries which are antitypes of his precious body and blood.”

Again: ¶ “O our Father, we give thee thanks for the precious blood of Jesus Christ shed for us, and for his precious body, of which we celebrate these antitypes.”

Eustathius of Antioch, expounding those words, “Eat my bread, and drink the wine that I have mingled,” says, “He

* Catech. Mystag. 4.—‘Ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτον δίδοται σοι σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἶνου δίδοται τὸ αἷμα. [p. 320. Venet. 1763.]

† In Pasch. Orat. 43. Ed. Basil. Gr. Μεταληψόμεθα δὲ τοῦ πάσχα νῦν μὲν τυπικῶς ἔτι, καὶ εἰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ γυμνότερον (τὸ γὰρ νομικὸν Πάσχα, τολμῶ δὲ λέγειν, τύπου τύπος ἦν ἀμυδρότερος) μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον τελειότερον καὶ καθαρώτερον. [Orat. 42. vol. 1. p. 692. Par. 1630.]

‡ In Jerem. 31. — De quo conficitur panis Domini, et sanguinis ejus impletur typus, et benedictio sanctificationis ostenditur. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 1063.]

§ Dialog. 3.—Τοῦτον τύπον σεπτὸν καὶ σωτήριον.

|| Lib. 5. cap. 13.—Παραδίδους ἡμῖν τὰ ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίον σώματος καὶ αἵματος.

¶ Lib. 7. c. 26. — καὶ τοῦ τιμίον σώματος, οὗ καὶ ἀντίτυπα ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν.

speaks these things, by bread and wine preaching the antitypes of Christ's bodily members."*

Macarius :† "In the Church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of Christ's flesh and blood."

Greg. Nazianzen,‡ telling the story how his sister Gorgonia was cured of a desperate malady, by applying the sacrament mixed with tears to her body, he expresses it thus:§ "Whatsoever of the antitypes of the precious body and blood of Christ, her hand had treasured up," &c.

Cyril of Jerusalem :|| "When they taste, they are not required to taste bread and wine (*i. e.* not these alone), but the antitype of Christ's body and blood."

Theodoret, (as we heard before)¶ calls the divine mysteries, "the antitypes of the true body of Christ."

And in another place he says:** "If the Lord's flesh be changed into the nature of the divinity, wherefore do they receive the antitypes of his body, for the type is superfluous (you see type and antitype signify the same) when the truth is taken away."

Theodotus of Antioch†† says : "As the king himself and his image are not two kings, neither are these two bodies, *viz.* the body of Christ personally existing in the heavens, and the bread, the antitype of it, which is delivered in the Church by the priests to the faithful."

They call it a figure.

Tertullian:‡‡ "Calling bread his body, that thou mayest

* In Proverb. 9. citat. in Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 6. Τὰ δὲ φησὶ διὰ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἄρτου τὰ ἀντίτυπα τῶν σωματικῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ κηρύττει μελῶν.

† Homil. 27. 'Εν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος.

‡ Orat. 11. [ut supra, p. 187.]

§ Εἶπον τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἢ χεῖρ ἰθυσάυρισεν, &c. [Ibid.]

|| Catech. Mystag. 5. Γενόμενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπον σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. [ut supra, p. 331.]

¶ Dialog. 2. Τοῦ ὄντως σώματος ἀντίτυπα. [vol. 4. p. 125. Hal. 1772.]

** Recapit. in fine Dialog. 3. — Τοῦ δὲ χάριν μεταλαμβάνουσι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ σώματος, περιττὸς γὰρ ὁ τύπος ἀνηρημένης τῆς ἀληθείας. [Ibid. p. 269.]

†† Citante Bulingero adv. Casaub. p. 166. — Οὐδὲ δύο σώματα, αὐτὸ τὸ Χριστοῦ σῶμα ἐνυπόστατον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὄν, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀντίτυπος ἄρτος ἐν ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων διαδιδόμενος τοῖς πιστοῖς.

‡‡ Lib. 3. adv. Marcion. Panem corpus suum appellans, ut hinc etiam intelligas corporis sui figuram panis dedisse.

thence understand that he gave to the bread the figure of his body."

Again :* "The bread which he took and distributed to his disciples, he made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body."

Ephrem Syrus :† "Diligently consider, how Christ taking bread in his hands, blessed and brake it, for a figure of his immaculate body, and also blessed and gave the cup to his disciples, for a figure of his precious blood."

St. Austin :‡ "He admitted Judas to the banquet, in which he commended and delivered to his disciples the figure of his body and blood."

Bede§ also says the same : "Neither did Christ exclude Judas from the most holy supper, in which he delivered to his disciples the figure of his most holy body and blood."

And elsewhere :|| "Christ instead of the flesh or blood of a lamb, substituting the sacrament in the figure of bread and wine, shewed that it was he, to whom the Lord sware, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek."

The words of the Ambrosian Office are very remarkable, as they are set down by the author of the Book of Sacraments under his name, where he asks this question :

¶ "Wouldst thou know that the eucharist is consecrated by heavenly words? Hear then what the words are. The priest

* Lib. 4. adv. Marcion. c. 40. *Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei.*

† Tract. de Nat. Dei curiose non scrutanda. Diligenter intueri, quomodo in manibus panem accipiens, benedixit et fregit in figuram immaculati corporis sui, calicemque in figuram pretiosi sanguinis sui benedixit, deditque discipulis suis.

‡ In Psal. 3. Adhibuit (Judas) ad convivium, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit. [vol. 4. p. 9. Par. 1835.]

§ In Psal. 3. Nec à Sacratissima cœna, in qua figuram Sacrosancti corporis sanguinisque suis discipulis tradidit, ipsum (sc. Judam) exclusit. [vol. 8. p. 323. Colon. Agr. 1688.]

|| In Luc. 22. Pro agni carne vel sanguine suæ carnis sanguinisque Sacramentum in panis et vini figura substituens, ipsum se esse monstraret, cui juravit Dominus, Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum Ordinem Melchisedec.

¶ Lib. 4. de Sacram. c. 5. in initio. Vis scire quia verbis cœlestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sint verba. Dicit sacerdos, Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod est Figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c. [vol. 2. p. 372. Par. 1690.]

says, Make this oblation to us allowable, rational, acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

This prayer thus expressed in this Office, signifies more than all that can be cited against us out of these books ; and indeed they were too plain to be continued, when transubstantiation was believed in the Roman Church, and therefore in the present canon of the mass they are changed, and instead of *Figura Corporis*, they now read, *Fiat nobis Corpus*, &c.

Lastly, *The Fathers call the bread and wine in the eucharist, the image of Christ's body.*

Eusebius:* "Christ," says he, "delivered to his disciples the symbols of his divine œconomy, requiring them to make an image of his body."

Gelasius:† "Surely the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries. It is evidently therefore shewn to us, that we must think of our Lord Christ the same, which we profess, celebrate, and take in his image," &c.

Procopius of Gaza, ‡ expounding these words spoken of Judah, "His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk," (Gen. xlix. 12.) he applies it to the eucharist, and that gladness which is obtained by the mystical wine which Christ first tasted, and bade his disciples take and drink ; and the milk may signify the purity of the mystical food, § "for he gave the image of his own body to his disciples, no longer requiring the bloody sacrifices of the law, and by the white teeth he denoted the purity of the bread by which we are nourished."

Author *Dialog. adv. Marcionitas inter Opera Origenis*:||
"If Christ, as the Marcionists say, was without flesh and with-

* Lib. 8. Demon. Evang.—Τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιῆσαι παρακελεύμενος. [p. 380. Colon. 1688.]

† Tract. de duabus Naturis. Certe Imago et Similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et sumimus, &c.

‡ Comm. in 49. Genes.

§ Παρέδωκε εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος μαθηταῖς, μηκέτι τὰς νομικὰς καὶ δι' αἱμάτων θυσίας προσιέμενος. Τὸ τοίνυν ἄρτον τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς τροφῆς διὰ τῶν λευκῶν ὀδόντων ἐδήλωσε,

|| Dialog. 3.—Ποίας σαρκὸς, ἢ τίνος σώματος, ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς, ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι.

out blood, of what flesh, or of what body or blood did he give the images, and commanded his disciples to make a remembrance of him by?"

Synodus Constantinop. An. 754:* "The Fathers there call the eucharist, the true image of Christ, and say afterwards—Christ commanded us to offer an image, a chosen matter, to wit, the substance of bread, not having a human figure, lest idolatry should be introduced."

And again :† "It pleased him, that the bread of the eucharist, being the true image of his natural flesh, should be made a divine body, being sanctified by the coming of the Holy Ghost, the priest which makes the oblation intervening to make it holy, which before was common."

He that would have more testimonies of this kind, may consult Monsieur Blondel, in his *Eclaircissements sur l'Eucharistie*, cap. 4. prop. 8.

The Fathers also make two or three remarks, which add further strength to this argument.

First remark. They not only make bread and wine to be the image, type, figure, &c. of Christ's body crucified; but they also assert, that an image, figure, &c. cannot be the thing itself, of which it is an image and figure.

Tertullian :‡ "The image cannot be every ways adequate to the truth; for it is one thing to be according to truth, another to be the truth itself."

Athanasius :§ "That which is like to another, is not that thing itself to which it is like."

Hilary :|| "Neither is any one an image of himself."

St. Ambrose :¶ "None can ever have been an image of himself."

* In Concil. Nicen. 2. Act 6—Τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα.—Οὕτω καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ὕλην ἐξαίρετον, ἥγουν ἄρτου οὐσίαν, προσέταξεν προσφέρεσθαι μὴ σχηματίζουσιν ἀνθρώπου μορφήν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ.

† Τὸν τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄρτον ὡς ἀψευδῆ εἰκόνα τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς, διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσεως ἁγιαζόμενον, θεῖον σῶμα εὐδόκησε γίνεσθαι, μεσιτεύοντος τοῦ ἐν μετενέξει ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιουνέμου ἱερέως.

‡ Cont. Marcion. l. 2. c. 9. Imago veritati non usquequaque adæquabitur; aliud enim est secundum veritatem esse, aliud ipsam veritatem esse.

§ Contr. Hypocr. Milet. Τὸ ὁμοίον τινι, οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ ἐκείνο ᾧ ὁμοιοῦται.

|| De Synodis. Neque enim sibi ipsi quisquam imago est.

¶ De Fide, l. 1. cap. 4. Nemo potest sibi ipsi imago fuisse. [vol. 2. p. 453. Par. 1690.]

Gr. Nyssen : * “ An image would be no longer such, if it were altogether the same with that of which it is an image.”

St. Austin : † “ What can be more absurd, than to be called an image with respect to one’s self?”

Gaudentius : ‡ “ A figure is not the truth, but an imitation of the truth.”

Theodoret : § “ An image has the figures and lines, not the things themselves.”

Cyril of Alexand. : || “ A type is not the truth, but rather imports the similitude of the truth.”

Bertram : ¶ “ A pledge and an image are of another thing ; that is, they do not look to themselves, but to something else.”

This Epiphanius the deacon, ** in the second Council of Nice confesses, and therefore is fain to deny, that the eucharist is the image or antitype of Christ’s body ; for, says he, †† “ if (the eucharist) be an image of his body, it cannot be the divine body itself.”

Damascen also, ‡‡ who was one of the first innovators in the matter of the eucharist, denies, that the bread and wine are a type or figure of Christ’s body and blood, but the very body and blood itself ; and that when the ancients call them *ἀντίτυπα* antitypes, they mean it is so before consecration of the elements, not after ; which I have abundantly shewed, by foregoing testimonies in this chapter, to be false, and it is confessed by some of the Roman authors themselves.

In a word, the Fathers make a sign to be inferior, and to fall short of the thing signified ; thus :—

St. Chrysostom says, §§ “ It is inferior to it, and so much the more, as a sign is below the thing of which it is a sign.”

* De Anima et Resurrect. *Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἂν εἰκὼν, εἰ δι’ ἀπάντων εἴη ταυτὸν ἐκείνῳ.* [vol. 3. p. 196. Par. 1638.]

† De Trinit. l. 7. c. 1. *Quid absurdius quàm Imaginem ad se dici?* [vol. 7. p. 1304. Par. 1837.]

‡ In Exod. tract. 2. *Figura non est veritas, sed imitatio veritatis.*

§ In Dan. l. 2. c. 2. *Ἡ εἰκὼν σχήματα, οὐ πράγματα ἔχει.* [vol. 2. p. 1091. Hal. 1770.]

|| In Amos. cap. 6. *Ὁ δὲ τύπος οὐκ ἀλήθεια, μόρφωσιν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσφέρει.* [vol. 3. p. 315. Lutet. 1638.]

¶ De Corp. et Sang. Domini. *Pignus et imago alterius rei sunt, id est, non ad se, sed ad aliud aspiciunt.*

** In Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 6.

†† *Εἰ εἰκὼν τοῦ σώματος ἐστίν, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον σῶμα.*

‡‡ De Orth. Fide, l. 4. c. 14.

§§ Hom. 8. in Epist. ad Roman. *Σφύδρα αὐτῆς καταδεστέρα, καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὅσον σημεῖον τοῦ πράγματος οὐπὲρ ἐστι σημεῖον.*

So also St. Jerome : (as we heard before) puts the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, in the same rank, as to veneration, with holy chalices, veils, and other things that relate to the passion of our Lord.

Second remark. The Fathers assert, “that an image and type must visibly demonstrate that of which it is an image.”

Origen :* “He that sees the image of a person, sees him of whom it is an image.”

Marcellus Ancyran. apud Eusebium : † “Images are demonstrative of those of whom they are images, so that by them he that is absent seems to appear.”

Greg. Nyssen : ‡ “The original is plainly seen in the likeness of it.”

Hilary : § “It is necessary that an image should demonstrate him of whom it is an image.”

Which plainly confutes those men’s fancies in the Church of Rome, || who make Christ invisibly present in the eucharist, to be the sign of himself visibly suffering upon the cross.

For as Greg. Nyssen says, ¶ “How can a man form an idea of a visible thing from an invisible?”

And Tertullian laughs at it as ridiculous, when he says, ** “No one that intends to shew a man, brings in a helmet, or a vizard.” Which, we know, hide him from our sight.

Irenæus says, †† “A type is often different from the truth, according to the matter and substance of the type, but according to the habit and lineaments, it ought to keep likeness, and likewise by things present, shew those things that are not present.”

* Hom. 1. in Genes. Qui viderit imaginem alicujus, videt eum cujus imago est. [vol. 2. p. 57. Par. 1733.]

† Lib. 1. cont. Marcel. c. 4. Αἱ εἰκόνες τούτων, ὧν εἰσὶν εἰκόνες, καὶ ἀπόντων δεικτικαὶ εἰσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀπόντα δι’ αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν. [p. 24. Colon. 1688.]

‡ In Cant. Hom. 15. Τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐναργῶς ἐν τῷ μιμήματι καθορᾶσθαι. [ut supra, vol. 1. p. 695.]

§ De Synodis. Eum cujus imago est, necesse est ut imago demonstret.

|| Bellarm. de Euchar. l. 2. cap. 15.

¶ Lib. 1. cont. Eunom. Πῶς ἐκ τοῦ ἀοράτου τὸ ὁρατὸν ποιήσεται κατανόησιν;

** Lib. de Carne Christi, c. 11. Nemo ostendere volens hominem, cassidem aut personam introducit.

†† L. 2. adv. Hæres. c. 40. Typus secundum materiam et substantiam aliquoties à veritate diversus est. Secundum autem habitum et lineamentum debet servare similitudinem, et similiter ostendere per præsentia, ea quæ non sunt præsentia. [c. 23. vol. 1. p. 149. col. 1. Venet. 1724.]

Third remark. “The Fathers plainly make the bread and wine in the eucharist, to be signs and symbols of Christ as absent.”

St. Ambrose :* “Here is the shadow, here the image, there (*viz.* in heaven) is the truth. The shadow is in the law, the image in the Gospel, the truth in heaven.”

Again :† “Ascend, O man, into heaven, and thou shalt see those things, of which there was here only a shadow or image.”

Maximus,‡ the interpreter of the spurious Dionysius, speaking of the bread and wine which he calls holy gifts, says, “They are symbols of things above that are more true.”

So again elsewhere he says,§ “The things of the old Law were a shadow, those of the New Testament were an image, but the state of the world to come is the truth.”

Theodoret :|| “After his coming there will be no more need of symbols (or signs), when the body itself appears.”

I refer the reader to the testimonies produced before (chap. 10. position 2.) out of St. Austin, Sedulius, Primasius, Bede, &c.

I will conclude this chapter with a passage or two out of the prayers after the sacrament in the old Liturgy, used in Bertram’s time.¶

“We who have now received the pledge of eternal life, most humbly beseech thee to grant,** that we may be manifestly made partakers of that which we here receive in the image of the sacrament.”

And thus afterwards in another prayer :†† “Let thy sacraments work in us, O Lord, we beseech thee, those things which

* Lib. 1. de Offic. cap. 48. Hic umbra, hic imago, illic veritas. Umbra in Lege, imago in Evangelio, veritas in Cœlestibus. [ut supra, p. 63.]

† In Psal. 38. Ascende ergo, homo, in cœlum, et videbis illa quorum umbra hic erat vel imago. [Ibid. vol. 1. p. 853.]

‡ In cap. 1. Hierarch. Eccles. “Ἀγία δῶρα. Σύμβολα τῶν ἄνω καὶ ἀληθινωτέρων.

§ In cap. 3. Σκιά γάρ τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς, εἰκὼν δὲ τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, ἀλήθεια δὲ ἡ τῶν μελλόντων κατῴστασις.

|| In 1 Cor. 11. 26. Μετὰ γὰρ δὴ τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, οὐκ ἔτι χρεια τῶν συμβόλων τοῦ σώματος, αὐτοῦ φαινόμενου τοῦ σώματος. [vol. 3. p. 238. Hal. 1771.]

¶ V. Bertram. de Corp. et Sang. Christi prope finem. p. 112. Edit. ult. Lat. Engl.

** Ut quod in imagine contingimus Sacramenti, manifesta participatione sumamus.

†† Ibid. p. 114. Perficiant in nobis quæsumus, Domine, tua Sacramenta quod continent ; ut quæ nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus.

they contain, that we may really be partakers of those things which now we celebrate in a figure."

Bertram comments upon these prayers in such passages as these: "Whence it appears," says he, "that this body and blood of Christ are the pledge and image of something to come, which is now only represented, but shall hereafter be plainly exhibited, — therefore it is one thing which is now celebrated, and another which shall hereafter be manifested." And afterwards (p. 115), "The prayer says, that these things are celebrated in a figure, not in truth, that is, by way of similitude (or representation), not the manifestation of the thing itself. Now the figure and the truth are very different things: therefore the body and blood of Christ, which is celebrated in the Church, differs from the body and blood of Christ which is glorified since the resurrection," &c.

* "We see how vast a difference there is between the mystery of Christ's body and blood which the faithful now receive in the Church, and that body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered, rose again, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. For this body which we celebrate in our way (to happiness) must be spiritually received; for faith believes somewhat that it sees not; and it spiritually feeds the soul, makes glad the heart, and confers eternal life and incorruption, if we attend not to that which feeds the body, which is chewed with our teeth, and ground in pieces, but to that which is spiritually received by faith. But now that body in which Christ suffered and rose again was his own proper body which he assumed of the Virgin, which might be seen and felt after his resurrection," &c.

It is very observable, and a great confirmation of what has been said in this chapter, that the ancient Christians of St. Thomas, inhabiting the mountains of Malabar in the East Indies, agree with the ancient Church in denying our Saviour's corporal presence in the sacrament of the eucharist; as appears from their Public Offices, and other books, mentioned in a Synod which was celebrated amongst them by Dom Alexio de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, in the year 1599.

In the fourteenth decree of the third action of the said Synod, in which most of their Church Offices and other books are condemned, for containing doctrines contrary to the Roman faith, there is particular notice taken of their contradicting the Roman faith in the point of transubstantiation.

1. The book of Timothy the Patriarch is condemned, for asserting through three chapters, that the body of Christ our Lord is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only the figure of his body.

2. The book of Homilies is condemned, which teacheth, that the holy eucharist is only the image of Christ, as the image of a man is distinguished from a real man; and that the body of Christ is not there, but in heaven.

3. The book of the Exposition of the Gospels is condemned, which teacheth, that the eucharist is only the image of the body of Christ, and that his body is in heaven at the right hand of the Father, and not upon earth.

4. Their Breviary, which they call Iludre and Gaza, is condemned; which teaches, that the most holy sacrament of the eucharist is not the true body of Christ.

Lastly, the Office of the Burial of Priests is condemned, where it is said, that the most holy sacrament of the altar, is no more but the virtue of Christ, and not his true body and blood.

This Synod was printed in the University of Conimbra, with the licenses of the Inquisition and Ordinary in the year 1606, and is in the possession of a learned person, who gave me this account out of it.

CHAP. XII.

THE TWELFTH DIFFERENCE.

The Fathers assert, that Christ's body is not eaten corporally and carnally, but only spiritually. But the Church of Rome teaches a corporal eating, a descent of Christ's natural body into ours, and understands the eating of Christ's body literally and carnally.

IF the Church of Rome declares its own faith, when it imposes the profession of it upon another, and makes one abjure the contrary under pain of anathema, then I am sure it was once with a witness for the eating of Christ's body in the most literal and proper sense; when, An. Dom. 1059, Pope Nicholas II. and the General Council of Lateran, prescribed a profession of it to Berengarius, made him swear it, and anathematize the contrary, as it is set down by Lanfranc:* which, because the Nubes Testium (though it has set down two

* De Eucharist. Sacram. adv. Berengar.

other forms) durst not give us, I will therefore here transcribe out of him.

* “I Berengarius, unworthy deacon, &c. knowing the true Catholic and Apostolic faith, do anathematize all heresy, especially that for which I have hitherto been defamed; which endeavours to maintain, that the bread and wine placed on the altar, after consecration, are only a sacrament (or sign), and not the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and cannot, save only in the sign, be handled or broken by the priest’s hands, or be ground by the teeth of the faithful. But I agree with the holy Roman Church and the Apostolic seat, and do with my mouth and from my heart profess, that I hold the same faith concerning the sacraments of the Lord’s table, which our Lord, and venerable Pope Nicholas, and this holy Synod, by evangelical and apostolical authority, has delivered to me to hold, and confirmed to me, *viz.* that the bread and wine which are placed on the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and is sensibly, not only in the sign and sacrament, but in truth, handled and broken by the priests’ hands, and ground by the teeth of the faithful: swearing this by the holy and co-essential Trinity, and by the most holy Gospels of Christ. And as for those that oppose this faith, I judge them, with their opinions and followers, worthy of an eternal anathema,” &c.

This we may look upon as the belief of that Church then, and this to be the manner of eating the body of Christ: “since,” as Bellarmine well observes, “none are compelled

* Ego Berengarius, indignus Diaconus Ecclesiæ S. Mauritii Andegavensis, cognoscens veram Catholicam et Apostolicam Fidem, anathematizo omnem Hæresin, præcipue eam de qua hactenus infamatus sum; quæ astruere conatur panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, solummodo Sacramentum, et non verum corpus et sanguinem Dom. nostri Jesu Christi esse; nec posse sensualiter, nisi in solo Sacramento, manibus Sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, aut fidelium dentibus atteri. Consentio autem S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Apostolicæ sèdi, et ore et corde profiteor de Sacramentis Dominicæ mensæ, eam fidem tenere, quam Dominus et Venerabilis Papa Nicholas et hæc S. Synodus autoritate Evangelica et Apostolica tenendam tradidit, mihiq; firmavit: scilicet, Panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, non solum Sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus D. N. J. Christi esse, et sensualiter non solum Sacramento, sed in veritate manibus Sacerdotum tractari, frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri, jurans per S. et homousion Trinitatem, et per hæc sacrosancta Christi Evangelia. Eos vero, qui contra hanc fidem venerint, cum dogmatibus et sectatoribus suis æterno anathemate dignos esse pronuncio, &c.

to abjure and anathematize dubious opinions, but only such as are condemned by the Church as known heresies.”*

But however infallible this Pope and that General Council were, this way of eating Christ's body, by tearing it with the teeth, was quickly opposed (as a late learned preface to the Determination of Joh. Parisiensis shews at large).

Peter Lombard could not digest it.† For though the Pope and Council defined, that both the handling, and also the breaking and tearing with the teeth Christ's body, were not only in the sign and sacrament, but in truth performed; he makes a distinction, and in express words (cited in the margin) says, “That Christ's body is handled indeed, not only in sacrament, but in truth: but that it is broken and torn with the teeth truly indeed, but yet only in sacrament.” That is, in the visible species, as he before explains that phrase. Directly contrary to Berengarius's recantation.

The words also of Joh. Semeca, the author of the Gloss upon the Canon Law, are very bold against it:‡ “Unless you understand the words of Berengarius in a sound sense (and there can be no other, the words are so plain, but what must contradict it), you will fall into a greater heresy than he was guilty of; and therefore you must refer all to the species (that is directly contrary to the Pope and Council), for we do not make parts of Christ's body.”

In fine, all the great writers, especially the Jesuits, have forsaken this definition, as not to be maintained, and this eating in the most proper sense is wholly discarded; and we are told by Bellarmine,§ that “grinding with the teeth is not necessarily required to eating; but it suffices that it be taken in, and transmitted from the mouth into the stomach by human and natural instruments, viz. the tongue and palate.”

* De Sacr. Euchar. l. 3. c. 21. Nec coguntur ulli abjurare et anathematizare sententias dubias, sed eas tantum, quæ damnantur ab Ecclesia, tanquam hæreses exploratæ.

† Sentent. lib. 4. dist. 12. Fractio et partes quæ ibi videntur fieri, in Sacramento fiunt, i. e. in visibili specie. Ideoque illa Berengarii verba ita distinguenda sunt, ut sensualiter, non modo in Sacramento, sed in veritate dicatur corpus Christi tractari manibus Sacerdotum: Frangi vero et atteri dentibus, vere quidem, sed in Sacramento tantum.

‡ Gloss. apud Gratian. de Consecr. Dist. 2. c. Ego Berengarius. Nisi sanè intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incidēs Hæresin quam ipse habuit; et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas; nam de Christi corpore partes non facimus.

§ De Sacr. Euchar. l. 1. c. 11. Ad rationem manducationis, non est necessaria attritio, sed satis est sumptio, et transmissio ab ore ad stomachum per instrumenta humana et naturalia, i. e. linguam et palatum.

This way, in plainer terms, is swallowing the body of Christ without chewing. And indeed without this descent of it into the body, there could no account be given of that prayer in the Roman Missal :* “Lord, let thy body which I have taken, and thy blood which I have drunk, cleave unto my entrails.”

They have also determined how long this sacred body makes its stay there. Aquinas (whom they all now follow) says,† “The body of Christ remains in this sacrament, so long as the sacramental species remain. When they cease to be, the body of Christ ceases to be under them.”

Thus also Domin. Soto:‡ “We ought undoubtedly to hold, that Christ’s body descends into the stomach.—Since digestion is made in the stomach, there the species cease to be, and so also Christ’s body, and therefore will not descend into the draught.”

But now comes a scurvy case, that will force out the whole truth. Suppose, by reason of any disease, the species should descend further than the stomach ; as in a flux, when there is no digestion of the species, nor time to do it in the stomach, but they are presently carried downward whole, or else brought up immediately, as in case of sudden vomiting. This also is resolved by the same principles. So the last named author:§ “If by reason of any disease the species should descend (into the draught he means), the body also itself would descend and be sent forth. For shame ought not to be a reason for denying the truth.”

To which St. Antoninus agrees|| (citing Paludanus in the case): “Therefore the body and blood of Christ remains so

* Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et sanguis quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis.

† In 3. part. quæst. 76. art. 6. ad 3. Corpus Christi remanet in hoc Sacramento, quousque species sacramentales manent. Quibus cessantibus desinit esse corpus Christi sub eis.

‡ In 4. dist. 12. qu. 1. art. 3. Est indubiè tenendum, quod corpus (sc. Christi) descendit in stomachum.—Cum digestio fiat in stomacho, illic desinunt esse species, atque adeo corpus, quare non descendit in ventrem.

§ Soto ibid. Sed si ob aliquem morbum species descenderent, consequenter et ipsum corpus descenderet et emitteretur. Pudor enim non debet esse in causa negandi veritatem.

|| Part. 3. tit. 13. cap. 6. sect. 3. Igitur corpus Christi et sanguis tamdiu manet in ventre et stomacho, vel vomitu, et quocunque alibi, quamdiu species manent, sicut substantia conversa mansisset. Et si species incorruptæ evomuntur, vel egrediuntur, est ibi vere corpus Christi.

long in the belly and stomach, or vomit, or anywhere else, as the species remain, just as the converted substance (*viz.* bread and wine) would have remained. And if the species are vomited up whole, or go forth (downward), there is truly the body of Christ."

And he tells us of St. Hugo Cluniac, how he commended one Goderanus, who (by a strange fervour) swallowed down the particles of an host, which a leper had vomited up with vile spittle, saying, "that St. Laurence's gridiron was more tolerable."

If these consequences seem horrid and detestable to the reader, the doctrine from which they necessarily flow, ought to be looked upon much more so.

But now, to return to the Fathers, and their sense of eating the body of Christ.

It is evident to any that will impartially consult their writings, that they were perfect strangers to all these cases that are thus currently resolved in the Roman Church.

That Christ's natural body should enter into ours, is too gross and carnal a thought to be attributed to them; and fits only the imaginations of a carnal Church, and of those Capernaïtes, who, in the sixth of St. John, ask, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"

Christ tells them, that the words he spoke to them were spirit and life. And so the Fathers always understood the eating of Christ's body and drinking his blood, not in a literal and proper, but in a figurative and spiritual sense; as I shall now prove from their writings. Wherein it may not be amiss to take notice, first, what their sense is about understanding things carnally and spiritually.

St. Chrysostom asking this question,* "What is it to think (or understand) carnally?" He answers, "Simply to look upon the things proposed, and to think of no more.—But we ought to view all mysteries with our inward eyes; for this is spiritually to view them."

St. Austin gives the same account:† "We have a carnal taste, when we take that which is figuratively spoken, as if it were properly spoken."

* Hom. 46. in Joan. Τί δέ ἐστι τὸ σαρκικῶς νοῆσαι;—Τὸ ἀπλῶς εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ὁρᾶν, καὶ μὴ πλεον φαντάζεσθαι.—Χρὴ δὲ πάντα μυστήρια τοῖς ἔνδον ὀφθαλμοῖς κατοπτεῦειν· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι πνευματικῶς. [vol. 8. p. 320. Par. 1836.]

† De Doctr. Christ. l. 3. c. 5. Cum figurate dictum sic accipitur, tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur. [vol. 3. p. 84. Par. 1836.]

And elsewhere :* “Every figurative and allegorical reading or speech, seems to sound one thing carnally, and to insinuate another thing spiritually.”

St. Austin† further gives a rule when to understand a thing literally, and when to understand it figuratively and spiritually : “If the speech be by way of command, either forbidding a crime or heinous wickedness, or bidding a beneficial or good thing to be done, it is not figurative : but if it seems to command a crime or heinous wickedness, or forbid an useful and beneficial thing, it is figurative.” And then he gives the example of his rule, in those words of Christ, “Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you. Now this,” says he, “seems to command a crime or horrid thing ; therefore it is a figure, commanding us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to treasure up in our memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.”

Origen said the very same before him,‡ and gives the same instance : “Not only in the Old Testament is found the killing letter ; there is also in the New Testament a letter that kills him who does not spiritually consider what is said. For if thou follow this according to the letter which was said, Unless ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, this letter kills.”

And in another place :§ “We are not to eat the flesh of the Lamb, as the slaves of the letter do,” &c. To which he opposes those “who receive the spirituals of the word.”

* Serm. 44. de Diversis. Omnis figurata et allegorica lectio vel locutio, aliud videtur sonare carnaliter, aliud insinuare spiritualiter. [Serm. 4. ibid. vol. 5. p. 33.]

† De Doctr. Christ. 1. 3. c. 16. Si præceptiva est locutio, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut beneficentiam jubens, non est figurata. Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, &c. facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere : Figura ergo est, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter in memoria condendum, quod caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa et vulnerata est. [Ibid. vol. 3. p. 91.]

‡ Hom. 7. in Levitic. Non solum in Veteri Testamento occidens Litera deprehenditur, est et in N. Testamento Litera, quæ occidit eum qui non spiritualiter quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum, occidit hæc litera. [vol. 2. p. 225. Par. 1733.]

§ In Joan. tom. 10. Οὐχ ἡμῖν οὖν βρωτέον τὴν σάρκα τοῦ ἀμνοῦ ὥσπερ ποιοῦσιν οἱ τῆς λέξεως δοῦλοι, &c. — τὰ πνευματικὰ λόγου μεταλαμβάνοντες. [vol. 4. p. 177. Par. 1759.]

Such as those whom St. Austin mentions,* who pleased God, and died not (*i. e.* eternally): “Because they understood the visible food (manna) spiritually, they hungered spiritually, they tasted spiritually, that they might spiritually be satisfied.”

Or, as he expresses it a little after:† “He that eats inwardly, not outwardly; that eats in his heart, not he that presseth it with his teeth.” And therefore elsewhere ‡ exhorts them: “Do not prepare your jaws, but your heart.”

This is what Clemens Alexandr.§ requires, when he says: “That Christ, when he broke the bread, set it before them, that we may eat it rationally,” *i. e.* spiritually.

So St. Austin again:|| “The body and blood of Christ will then be life to every one, if what is visibly taken in the sacrament, be in truth spiritually eaten and spiritually drunk.” Where he makes this to be “eating in truth,” and the other but “sacramental.”

So Macarius¶ having called the bread and wine the antitype of Christ’s flesh and blood, he adds:** “They which are partakers of the visible bread, do spiritually eat the flesh of the Lord.” He should rather have said *orally*, according to the doctrine of our adversaries.

St. Athanasius,†† expounding those words, “What if ye see the Son of man ascending where he was before? It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing,” &c. adds,‡‡ “He affirmed both of himself, the flesh and spirit, and made a difference betwixt the spirit and the flesh, that not only believing that of him which was visible, but what was invisible,

* In Joan. tract. 26. Quia visibilem cibum spiritaliter intellexerunt, spiritaliter esurierunt, spiritaliter gustaverunt, ut spiritaliter satientur. [ut supra, vol. 5. p. 1836.]

† Ibid. Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente. [p. 1984.]

‡ Sermon. 33. de Verb. Dom. Nolite parare fauces, sed cor. [Sermon. 112. ibid. vol. 5. p. 813.]

§ Strom. l. 1. Κλάσας τὸν ἄρτον προέθηκεν, ἵνα δὴ φάγωμεν λογικῶς.

|| De Verb. Apost. Sermon. 2. Tunc vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis Christi, si quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur. [Sermon. 131. ibid. p. 924.]

¶ Homil. 27.

** — Καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου, πνευματικῶς τὸν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι.

†† Tract. in illud Evang. Quicumque dixerit verbum contra filium hominis.

‡‡ — “Ἴνα μὴ μόνον τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀόρατον αὐτοῦ πιστεύουντες.

they might learn, that those things which he spake were not carnal, but spiritual. For, to how many could his body have sufficed for meat, that it should be made the food of the whole world? But therefore he mentions the Son of man's ascension into heaven, that he might draw them from his corporal conceit, and hereafter might learn, that the flesh he spake of was celestial meat from above, and spiritual nourishment to be given by him," &c.*

It will suffice all the world, if we follow Tertullian's advice: † "Since the Word was made flesh, he is to be longed for that we may live, to be devoured by hearing, to be chewed by understanding, and digested by faith."

It is an excellent comment on this which Eusebius gives us, ‡ upon these words of John vi. "The flesh profits nothing," &c.: "Do not imagine that I speak of that flesh I am encompassed withal, as if you must eat that; nor think that I command you to drink sensible and corporeal blood: but know, that the very words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life. So that these very words and speeches of his are his flesh and blood; whereof whoso is always partaker, being nourished as it were with heavenly bread, shall be a partaker of heavenly life. —Let not the hasty hearing of those things by me, of flesh and blood, trouble you; for things sensibly heard profit nothing, but it is the Spirit that quickeneth them that can spiritually hear them."§

St. Basil says the same: || "There is an intellectual mouth of the inward man, whereby he is nourished who receives the word of life, which is the bread that descended from heaven."

Facundus Hermian. ¶ takes this of eating Christ's flesh to

* —Πόσοις γὰρ ἥρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφή γίνηται; —"Ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοῦς ἀφελκύσῃ.

† De Resurr. c. 37. Quia et sermo caro erat factus, proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus.

‡ Lib. 3. Eccl. Theol. c. 17. Μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα, ἣν περιέκειμαι, νομίσητέ με λέγειν, ὥς δεῶν αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν αἷμα πίνειν, ὑπολαμβάνετε με προστάττειν.—"Ὅστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα. [c. 12.] [p. 180. Colon. 1688.]

§ — Ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ αἰσθητῶς ἀκουόμενα, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιῶν τοὺς πνευματικῶς ἀκούειν δυναμένους. [Ibid.]

|| In Psal. 33. "Ἔστι μὲν τι καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἐνδον ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ τρέφεται μεταλαμβάνων τοῦ λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, ὅς ἐστιν ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.

¶ Lib. 12. Defens. 3. capit. c. 1.

be a mystery, and that St. Peter when he answered, "Lord, whither should we go? thou hast the words of eternal life," did not then understand it: "For," says he,* "if he had understood the mystery, he should rather have said, Lord, there is no reason we should go away, since we believe we shall be saved by faith in thy body and blood." He means his death and passion, which is his sense of eating Christ's body and blood.

Theodorus Heracleot.† refers this eating Christ's flesh to the sincere embracing the economy of his incarnation: "These," says he,‡ "upon the reasoning of their minds, by assenting to it, as it were tasting the doctrine, do rationally (or spiritually) eat his flesh, and by faith partake of his blood."

St. Chrysostom, upon those words,§ "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing," reckons up some of those carnal doubts that profit nothing; as: "It is a carnal thing," says he, "to doubt how Christ descended from heaven, and to imagine him to be the son of Joseph, and how he can give us his flesh to eat. All these are carnal, which ought to be mystically and spiritually understood."

Cyril of Jerusalem says:|| "That the Jews, for want of understanding spiritually Christ's words, imagined that Christ exhorted them to devour his flesh;" which is hard to be distinguished from the Roman Church's oral manducation.

This carnal fancy might well make them shrink, and cry out: "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" For as St. Austin¶ well observes: "It seems more horrible to eat human flesh, than to kill it; and to drink man's blood, than to shed it."

Origin's words (for I see no good reason to question they

* Quod si mysterium intellexisset, hoc potius diceret, Domine, cur abeamus non est, cum credamus nos corporis et sanguinis tui fide salvandos.

† Catenà in Joan. 6. 54, 55.

‡ — Τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς λογισμῷ διὰ τῆς συγκαταθέσεως, ὥσπερ ἀπογενεσάμενοι τοῦ δόγματος, λογικῶς ἐσθίουσι τὴν σάρκα καὶ μεταλαμβάνουσι τοῦ αἵματος.

§ Hom. 46. in Joan. Σαρκικὸν δὲ ἦν τὸ ἀμφισβητεῖν πῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβέβηκε, καὶ τὸ νομίζειν ὅτι υἱὸς ἐστὶν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ τὸ πῶς δύναται ἡμῖν τὴν σάρκα δοῦναι φαγεῖν ταῦτα πάντα σαρκικά, ἅπερ ἔδει μυστικῶς νοεῖν καὶ πνευματικῶς, &c. [vol. 8. p. 320. Par. 1836.]

|| Catech. Mystag. 4. Νομίζοντες ὅτι ἐπὶ σαρκοφαγίαν αὐτοὺς προτρέπεται. [p. 321. Venet. 1763.]

¶ Cont. advers. Legis, l. 2. c. 9. Horribilius videatur humanam carnem manducare quam perimere, et humanum sanguinem potare quam fundere. [ut supra, vol. 8. p. 919.]

are his) are enough to convince effectually all such carnal Jews and Christians: * “There is a meat and drink for this material and outward man, as we call him, agreeable to his nature, *viz.* this corporeal and earthly food. There is likewise a proper food for the spiritual, or, as we call it, inward man, as ‘that living bread that came down from heaven,’ &c.—But the property of things is reserved to each distinct, and corruptible things are given to that which is corruptible, and incorruptible things are proposed to that which is incorruptible.”

Greg. Nyssen† also well expresses it thus: “There is an analogy betwixt the motions and operations of the soul, and the senses of the body,” &c.

‡ — “Wine and milk are judged of by the taste; but these being intellectual, the power of the soul that apprehends them, must be altogether intellectual.”

St. Chrysostom§ said well: “That Christ gave himself to us for a spiritual feast and banquet.”

And Procopius Gazæus: || “The celestial and divine Lamb is wont to be the food of souls.”

St. Austin¶ indeed tells us: “We cannot handle him who now sits in heaven; yet,” says he, “we may touch him by our faith.”

For, as he says elsewhere: ** “We run to Christ, not by

* Prolog. in Cantic. Est materialis hujus hominis, qui et exterior appellatur, cibus potusque naturæ suæ cognatus, corporeus iste, sc. et terrenus. Similiter autem et spiritualis hominis ipsius, qui et interior dicitur, est proprius cibus, ut panis ille vivus qui de cœlo descendit, &c. — Rerum vero proprietas unicuique discreta servatur, et corruptibili corruptibilia præbentur, incorruptibili verò incorruptibilia proponuntur. [vol. 3. p. 28. Par. 1740.]

† Hom. 1. in Cantic. Ἀναλογία τίς ἐστι τοῖς ψυχικοῖς κινήμασι καὶ ἐνεργήμασι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σώματος αἰσθητήρια, &c. [vol. 1. p. 481. Par. 1638.]

‡ — Ὁ γὰρ οἶνός τε καὶ γάλα τῇ γεύσει κρίνεται νοητῶν δὲ ὄντων ἐκείνων, νοητῇ πάντως καὶ ἡ ἀντιληπτικὴ τούτων τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι δύναμις. [Ibid.]

§ Homil. 26. in Matth. — Ἐαυτὸν δοῦναι ἡμῖν εἰς ἐστίασιν καὶ εὐωχίαν πνευματικὴν. [ut supra, vol. 7. p. 352.]

|| Comment. in Exod. Cœlestis seu divinus Agnus animarum solet esse cibus.

¶ Tract. 1. in Epist. Joan. — Ipsum jam in cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed fide contingere. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 2484.]

** Tract. 26. in Evang. Joan. Non ad Christum ambulando currimus, sed credendo: nec motu corporis, sed voluntate cordis accedimus. [Ibid. p. 1978.]

walking, but by believing; nor do we approach him by the motion of our bodies, but by the will of our hearts."

And afterwards:* "Thus he would be touched, and thus he is touched by all that rightly touch him, ascending to the Father, remaining with the Father, equal to the Father."

And in the next tractate† upon those words, "What if ye see the Son of man ascend," &c. "What does this mean? He hence resolves that which they did not know.—For they imagined, that he would bestow his body upon them; and he told them that he would ascend into heaven entire and whole. When you shall see the Son of man ascending where he was before, then surely you will see, that he does not bestow his body after that manner you think he does: surely you will then at least understand, that his grace is not consumed by bites" (of the teeth).

Gelasius‡ therefore said well: "To believe on the Son of God, this is to see him, this is to hear him, this is to smell, this is to taste him, and this is to handle him."

These testimonies, one would think, are sufficient to tell us the sense of the Fathers in this matter; yet, with the reader's leave, I will add a few considerations more, to put it out of all doubt.

First consideration. It appears there is no necessity¹ to understand eating and drinking Christ's body in the eucharist, of his natural body received into ours; because the Fathers say, We eat and drink, and partake of Christ's body and blood in baptism, which, by the confession of all, can be done only spiritually there.

Thus Cyril of Alexandria says,§ "The Gentiles could not have shaken off their blindness, and contemplated the divine and holy light, that is, attained the knowledge of the holy and

* — Sic se tangi voluit, sic tangitur ab eis à quibus bene tangitur, ascendens ad patrem, manens cum patre, æqualis patri. [Ibid. p. 1979.]

† Idem Tract. 27. in Joan. Quid est hoc? Hinc solvit illud quod non noverant—Illi enim putabant eum erogaturum corpus suum, ille autem dixit, se ascensurum in coelum, utique integrum. Cum videritis filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius, certe vel tunc videbitis, quia non eo modo quo putatis erogatur corpus suum, certe vel tunc intelligetis, quia gratia ejus non consumitur morsibus. [Ibid. p. 1989.]

‡ Contr. Eutych. l. 4. Credere in filium Dei, hoc est videre, hoc est audire, hoc est odorari, hoc est gustare, hoc est contrectare eum.

§ In Joan. 9. 6. —Εἰ μὴ γέγονε μέτοχα τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός, &c. διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου δηλονότι βαπτίσματος. [vol. 4. p. 602. Par. 1638.]

consubstantial Trinity, unless by holy baptism they had been made partakers of his holy flesh, and washed away the blackness of their sin, and shaken off the devil's power."

And elsewhere,* speaking of the eunuch: "He by his question," says he, "shewed, that he was partaker of the spiritual Lamb; for he was presently thought worthy of baptism."

Fulgentius:† "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. Which whosoever can consider, not only according to the mystery of truth (*viz.* in the sacraments), but according to the truth of the mystery, will see that this is done in the laver of holy regeneration."

And again:‡ "Neither need any one in the least doubt, that every believer is then made partaker of Christ's body and blood, when he is made in baptism a member of Christ's body."

Therefore St. Basil says,§ "That the Lord takes away Christ from those who having put him on by baptism, by sinning afterwards trample upon his body, and count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing."

Second consideration. The Fathers, with reference to eating and drinking, distinguish Christ's true body from his sacramental one; which they could not do, if Christ's true and natural body and blood were eat and drunk in a proper sense in the sacrament.

St. Chrysostom, expounding these words,|| "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily," &c. says, "As Christ's presence, which brought those great and unspeakable blessings to us, did condemn those the more that did not receive it; so also the mysteries make way for greater punishments to those that unworthily partake of them."

* Glaphyr. in Exod. lib. 2. Μέτοχος ἦδη τοῦ νοητοῦ προβάτου διὰ τῆς ἐρευνῆς ἀνεδεικνύετο, ἡξίου γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ βεβαπτίσθαι.

† De Bapt. Æthiop. in fine. Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis. Quod quisquis non solum secundum veritatis mysteria, sed secundum mysterii veritatem, considerare poterit, in ipso Lavacro S. Regenerationis hoc fieri providebit.

‡ Ibid. Nec cuiquam esse aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque participem fieri, quando in baptismo membrum corporis Christi efficitur.

§ In Esa. 3. — Τὸ σῶμα καταπατοῦντων, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγήσαμένων.

|| In 1 Cor. xi. v. 29. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἡ παρουσία αὐτοῦ, &c. τοὺς μὴ δεξαμένους αὐτὴν μᾶλλον κατέκρινεν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ μυστήρια μείζονος ἐφόδια κολάσεως γίνεται τοῖς ἀναξίως μετέχουσι. [vol. 10. p. 293. Par. 1737.]

St. Austin,* (whose words I have given chap. 10. posit. 2.) makes the flesh and blood of Christ to be “exhibited in the truth” at his passion, and “in the sacrament only the memory of it to be celebrated.”

Bede, upon these words,† “The poor shall eat and be satisfied,” says, “By this bread and wine, which are visibly offered to them, they will understand another invisible thing, *viz.* the true body and blood of our Lord, which are really meat and drink, not such as fills the belly, but which nourishes the mind.”

And in another place, speaking of the passover:‡ “The immolation of this passover represents the glory of our resurrection, when all the elect shall eat together the flesh of the immaculate Lamb, I mean of him who is our God and Lord, no more in sacrament as believers, but in the thing itself, and in truth, as spectators.”

Neither is that of Isidore of Seville§ to be passed over, who mentions this prayer in the liturgy of his time: “That the oblation which is offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be conformed to the body and blood of Christ.” Which very phrase shews a difference betwixt what we receive in the eucharist, and the true body and blood of Christ: else it would not be conformity, but identity, as Monsieur Claude has well observed.

Third consideration. They say, that the Fathers under the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat with us; and give this as the reason why it is spiritual meat, because it is not eaten corporally, but by faith. Therefore both they and we must eat the same meat, only spiritually, not corporally.

St. Austin has said so much in this argument, that I need go no further. And I might insist upon many passages I have

* Contr. Faustum, l. 20. c. 21. Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis, &c.—in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per Sacramentum memoriæ celebratur. [ut supra, vol. 8. p. 546.]

† In Psal. 21.—Intelligent in pane et vino visibiliter sibi proposito aliud invisibile, scilicet corpus et sanguinem verum Domini, qui verus cibus et potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur. [vol. 8. p. 419. Colon. Agr. 1688.]

‡ In Esdras, lib. 2. cap. 8. Immolatio Paschæ gloriam insinuet resurrectionis, cum omnes electi carne agni immaculati, id est, Dei et Domini nostri, non amplius in Sacramento credentes, sed in re ipsa ac veritate videntes, reficiuntur.

§ De Officiis Eccles. l. 1. c. 15.—Ut oblatio quæ Domino offertur sanctificata per spiritum sanctum, corpori et sanguini Christi conformetur (not *confirmetur*, as the last Colen Edition absurdly has printed it, An. 1617). [p. 394. col. 2. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

upon other occasions named before; as that in his treatise upon St. John's Gospel, where, explaining that of the same spiritual drink that the Fathers drank, he has such expressions as these: * "See the signs are varied, faith remaining the same. There the rock was Christ (in sign); to us, that which is laid on the altar is Christ; and they drank of the water that flowed from the rock, for a great sacrament of the same Christ; what we drink, the faithful know. If you regard the visible species or nature, it is another thing; if the spiritual or intelligible signification, they drank the same spiritual drink."

In another place: † "Their meat and drink was the same with ours in mystery; not in substance (or species) the same, but in signification. Because the same Christ who was figured to them in the rock, is manifested to us in the flesh."

To add but one place more, which fully comprehends the whole sense of the argument; ‡ where St. Austin explaining the same words, of "our fathers eating the same spiritual meat," &c. he discourses thus:

The Apostle says, § That our fathers, not the fathers of unbelievers, not the fathers of the wicked, that did eat and die; but our fathers, the fathers of the faithful, did eat spiritual meat, and therefore the same.—For there were such there, to whom Christ was more tasteful in their heart, than manna in their mouth.—Whosoever understood Christ in the manna, did eat the same spiritual meat we do.—So also the same drink, for the rock was Christ. Therefore they drank

* Tract. 45. in Ev. Joan. Videte, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi petra Christus, nobis Christus quod in altari Dei ponitur. Et illi pro magno Sacramento ejusdem Christi biberunt aquam profluentem de petra, nos quid bibamus norunt fideles. Si speciem visibilem intendas, aliud est; si intelligibilem significationem, eundem potum spirituales biberunt. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 2132.]

† Idem in Psal. 77. Idem in mysterio cibus et potus illorum qui noster, sed significatione idem, non specie. Quia idem ipse Christus illis in petra figuratus, nobis in carne manifestatus est. [Ibid. vol. 4. p. 1166.]

‡ De Utilit. Poenitentiae, cap. 1.

§ Apostolus dicit, Patres nostros, non patres infidelium, non patres impiorum manducantes et morientes, sed patres nostros, patres fidelium, spiritalem cibum manducasse, et ideo eundem.—Erant enim ibi quibus plus Christus in corde quam Manna in ore sapiebat. Quicumque in Manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem quem nos cibum spiritalem manducaverunt.—Sic etiam eundem potum, Petra enim erat Christus. Eundem ergo potum quem nos, sed spiritalem, id est, qui fide capiebatur, non qui corpore hauriebatur.—Eundem ergo cibum sed intelligentibus et credentibus; non intelligentibus autem, illud solum Manna, illa sola aqua, &c.

the same drink we do, but spiritual drink, that is, drink which was received by faith, not what was swallowed down by the body.—They ate therefore the same meat, the same to those that understand and believe; but to them that do not understand, it was only that manna, only that water,” &c. Here you see, St. Austin calls that spiritual drink which faith receives, not which the body takes down. And thus whether Christ be come, or be to come, it is all one (as he says a little after, *Venturus et venit diversa verba sunt, sed idem Christus*), because faith can apprehend what shall be, as well as what is. But if our eating be Christ’s natural body swallowed down our bodies, then their meat and ours were not the same. For Christ could not be thus their meat, because then he had not taken flesh upon him; therefore those old Fathers could not take it down in the oral sense.

Fourth consideration. The body and blood are to be eaten and drunk, and to be received, as they were represented and set before us in the sacrament. But there the body of Christ (according to the Fathers as well as the Scriptures) is set before us as broken and dead, and his blood as poured out of his veins. Therefore it can be eaten and drunk by us only figuratively and spiritually.

If the reader look back to chap. 10. posit. 4, he will find a great many testimonies, especially out of St. Chrysostom, to prove that the Fathers considered Christ’s body in the sacrament as slain and dead, and his blood poured out of his veins, and separated from his body: and how St. Chrysostom, at the same time when he tells us that Christ has given us leave to be filled with his holy flesh,* he has proposed and set himself before us as slain.

This I shall now give a further account of, seeing the Fathers speak nothing more plainly and fully than this.

St. Austin† not only tells us in general, that “we are fed from our Lord’s cross, because we eat his body;” but more expressly says,‡ “That Christ offered himself a sacrifice for us to God the Father, on the table of the cross, giving to his

* Hom. 51. in Matth. — Τῶν ἁγίων σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ ἐμπλησθῆναι ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν—ἐαυτὸν παρέθηκε τεθυμένον. [vol. 7. p. 582. Par. 1836.]

† In Psal. 100. Nos de cruce Domini pascimur; quia corpus ipsius manducamus. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 1553.]

‡ Serm. 9. de 40. edit. à Sirmondo.—Qui se pro nobis in mensa crucis obtulit sacrificium Deo Patri, donans Ecclesiæ suæ Catholicæ vitale convivium, corpore suo nos videlicet satians, et inebrians sanguine. [Serm. 366. ibid. vol. 5. p. 2156.]

catholic Church a vital banquet, *viz.* by satiating us with his body, and inebriating us with his blood." But all this, by looking upon him on the table of the cross, sacrificed and slain.

This made Gr. Nyssen* say, that "the body of the victim (speaking of Christ) is not fit for eating, if it be alive."

And St. Cyprian:† "Neither should we be able to drink the blood of Christ, unless it were first trodden and pressed." Alluding to grapes in a wine press; and that Christ's blood must be out of his veins when we drink it, and so considered by us.

But none of the ancients has given a fuller account of this than Hesychius,‡ who says, that "Christ made his flesh fit to be eaten after his passion, which was not fit to be eaten before his passion: for if he had not been crucified, we could by no means eat the sacrifice of his body. But now we eat food, receiving the memory of his passion."

And again,§ he compares the cross to a "gridiron, which when our Lord's flesh is put upon it, makes it fit to be food of men: for unless it had been laid thus upon the cross, we could in no wise mystically have received Christ's body."

And because this food which is thus mystically to be eaten, could not be fit food for us unless Christ was crucified and slain; therefore in several places he speaks of Christ as slaying himself in the eucharist (which cannot be understood properly) before he was slain upon the cross. Thus he says,|| "Christ, by way of anticipation, slew (or sacrificed) himself in the supper of the Apostles, which they know that perceive the virtue of the mysteries."

Again:¶ "Our Lord first supping upon the figurative

* Orat. 1. in Resurr. Dom. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν τὸ σῶμα ἱερείου πρὸς ἐδωδὴν ἐπιτήδειον, εἴπερ ἔμψυχον ἦν. [vol. 3. p. 389. Par. 1638.]

† Lib. 2. Ep. 3. Nec nos sanguinem Christi possemus bibere, nisi prius calcatus fuisset et pressus. [Epist. 63. p. 227. Venet. 1728.]

‡ Com. in Lev. l. 1.—Carnem ejus, quæ ad comedendum inepta erat ante passionem—aptam cibo post passionem fecit. Si enim non fuisset crucifixus, sacrificium corporis ejus minimè comederemus. Comedimus autem nunc cibum, sumentes ejus memoriam passionis.

§ Ib. l. 2. Sartaginem, Domini crucem,—accipi oportet, quæ etiam superimpositam Dominicam carnem, esibilem hominibus reddidit. Nisi enim superimposita fuisset cruci, nos corpus Christi nequaquam mysticè percepissemus.

|| Ib. l. 1. Præveniens, se ipsum in cæna Apostolorum immolavit, quod sciunt quì mysteriorum virtutem percipiunt.

¶ Ib. l. 2. Prius figuratam ovem cum Apostolis cænans Dominus, postea suum obtulit sacrificium, et secundo sicut ovem seipsum occidit.

lamb with the Apostles, did afterwards offer his sacrifice, and a second time, as a lamb, slew himself."

And now after all these testimonies and considerations, which, put together, demonstratively conclude against any eating of Christ's body or drinking his blood but what is spiritual and figurative, I will put an end to this chapter with two remarkable sayings of St. Austin.

The first is upon the 98th Psalm,* where he confutes those who, when our Saviour spake of "eating his flesh, and drinking his blood," were offended at this, as an hard saying: and then expounding that which Christ added, "The words I speak are spirit and life," he makes our Lord speak thus to them:† "Understand spiritually what I have spoken. You are not to eat this body which you see, nor to drink that blood which they shall shed that will crucify me. I have commended a certain sacrament to you, which if spiritually understood, will give life to you; and if it be necessary this sacrament should be visibly celebrated, yet it must be invisibly (*i. e.* spiritually) understood by you." No Protestant could choose words to express his mind more fully by in this matter.

His other saying is against the Manichees, who fancied a latent Christ in the fruits of trees, and ears of corn, and professed to eat him that was passible with their mouths. St. Austin thus sarcastically derides them:‡ "Ye expect with open mouth, who should bring in Christ into your jaws, as the best sepulchre for him."

If St. Austin had been for oral manducation of Christ's body in the eucharist, he could not have had the confidence to have objected this as a reproach to the Manichees, which might so easily have been returned with shame upon himself.

I conclude therefore, that the Trent Fathers, when they called the sacramental and oral manducation, real eating, to distinguish it from the spiritual eating; and made that canon, "If any shall say, that Christ exhibited in the eucharist, is only

* In Ps. 98.

† *Spiritualiter intelligite quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos; et si necesse est aliud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi.* [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 1521.]

‡ *Contr. Faustum, l. 20. c. 11. Ore aperto expectatis quis inferat Christum, tanquam optimæ sepulturæ, faucibus vestris.* [Ibid. vol. 8. p. 536.]

spiritually eaten, and not also sacramentally and really, let him be anathema:”* that herein they were so far from designing to testify their consent with the Fathers (who, as you have heard, generally say the contrary), that they seem rather to have had a conspiracy against them.

CHAP. XIII.

THE THIRTEENTH DIFFERENCE.

The Fathers assert, that the faithful only eat Christ's body, and drink his blood in the Eucharist, not the wicked. Whereas they of the present Roman Church extend it to both.

THIS assertion, being a necessary consequence of the foregoing one, will make my work the shorter for its proof. What the Church of Rome holds in this matter, cannot be questioned. The Trent Catechism, speaking of such a person that makes no distinction betwixt the sacrament and other common food, expresses it thus :†—“ Who impurely taking the body of the Lord, which lies hid in the eucharist”—there it is hid, they mean, under the species, and the wicked take it.

Therefore Dom. Soto (who was one of the Council of Trent) says :‡ “ We must undoubtedly hold, that the body of Christ descends into the stomach, though a wicked man takes it.”

So Aquinas :§ “ Seeing the body of Christ always remains in the sacrament till the sacramental species are corrupted, it follows, that even wicked men do eat the body of Christ.”

Alensis,|| taking notice of the opinion of some that thought,

* Conc. Trid. Sess. 13. can. 8. Si quis dixerit Christum in Eucharistia exhibitum, spiritualiter tantum manducari, et non etiam sacramentaliter ac realiter, anathema sit.

† Catechis. ad Paroch. Part. 2. n. 27.—Qui impure sumens corpus Domini, quod in Eucharistia occulte latet.—

‡ In 4. dist. 12. qu. 1. art. 3.—Est indubiè tenendum quod corpus (sc. Christi) descendit in stomachum, etiamsi ab iniquo sumatur.

§ Part. 3. quæst. 80. art. 3. conclus. Cum corpus Christi in Sacramento semper permaneat, donec species Sacramentales corrumpantur, etiam injustos homines Christi corpus manducare consequitur.

|| Part. 4. qu. 11. memb. 2. art. 2. sec. 2.—Illud sentire erroneum est et manifeste contra sanctos : et ideo communiter tenetur quod in hoc non est differentia inter justum et injustum, quia uterque ipsum verum corpus Christi sumit in Sacramento, &c.

that as soon as the body of Christ was touched by a sinner's lips, it withdrew itself, says: "This is an error, and manifestly against the saints; and therefore it is held commonly, that in this there is no difference betwixt the just and unjust, for both of them receive the very body of Christ in the sacrament."

And a little after: * "It must be granted, that the wicked receive the thing which the sacrament is a sign of, which is Christ's true body, born of the Virgin," &c.

This ought not to seem a strange doctrine to be held by those, who say that brute creatures may devour Christ's body. Which is the current opinion.

So Aquinas: † "We must say, that although a mouse or a dog should eat a consecrated host, yet the substance of Christ's body does not cease to be under the species, so long as the species remain."

Alensis‡ is as positive and more plain: "If a dog or a hog should swallow a whole consecrated host, I see not why nor how the body of our Lord would not, together with the species, be conveyed into the belly of that dog or hog."

It is also remarkable, that among three articles, which Pope Gregory XI. an. 1371, prohibited to be taught§ under pain of excommunication (which was also repeated by P. Clement VI.), one of them was this: "If a consecrated host should be gnawed by a mouse, or taken by a brute, that then the species remaining, the body of Christ ceases to be under them, and the substance of the bread returns."

This he would not let pass for good divinity.

Nor can it at this day, when this is one of the cautions to be observed in the celebrating of the mass:

"That if a fly, or any such animal fall into the chalice after consecration, if the priest nauseates it, then he must take it out and wash it with wine, and burn it when mass is ended, and the ashes and the wash be thrown into the holy repository.

* — Unde concedendum, quod mali sumunt rem Sacramenti, quod est corpus Christi verum, quod natum est de Virgine, &c.

† Loc. citat. ad Tertium. Dicendum, quod etiamsi mus vel canis hostiam consecratam manducet, substantia corporis Christi non desinit esse sub speciebus, quamdiu species illæ manent.

‡ Ibid. sec. 1. loco citat. Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam integram, non video quare vel quomodo Corpus Domini non simul cum specie trajiceretur in ventrem canis vel porci.

§ See Pref. to the Determ. of Jo. Paris. p. 32. Si hostia consecrata à mure corrodatur, seu à bruto sumitur, quod remanentibus speciebus, sub iis desinit esse Corpus Christi, et redit substantia Panis.

But if he do not nauseate to swallow it, nor fears any danger, let him take it down with the blood.”*

What is all this for, but to tell us, that they look upon it still to be Christ’s blood, and that it is better it should be in the belly of a priest than of a brute?

So also they give us another case: “If a priest should vomit up the eucharist, and the species appear entire, they must be taken down reverently, unless nauseated; but in that case the consecrated species must be cautiously separated, and put in some holy place till they are corrupted,” &c.†

But I beg the reader’s pardon for presenting him with such nauseous stuff. God grant that they who thus unworthily represent their Saviour, may have grace to repent, that the “thoughts of their hearts may be forgiven them.”

As for the Fathers, if by their plain words we can understand their sense, they assert, that only the faithful, and not the wicked, eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood in a proper sense.

St. Jerome‡ calls the flesh of Christ the “food of believers.” And Isidore of Seville,§ that it is the “meat of the saints.” And he adds (which makes it their food, and of none else), “which if any one eat, he shall not die eternally.” They therefore often call it the bread of life, and life itself.

St. Ambrose:¶ “This is the bread of life; he that eateth life cannot die; for how should he die whose food is life?”

St. Austin says the same:¶¶ “When Christ is eaten, life is eaten.—When he is eaten, he refreshes.”

* De Defect. Missæ, sec. 10. n. 5. ante Missal. Roman. Si post consecrationem ceciderit musca, aut aliquid ejusmodi, et fiat nausea Sacerdoti, extrahat eam et lavet cum vino, finitâ Missa comburat, et combustio ac lotio hujusmodi in Sacrarium projiciatur. Si autem non fuerit nausea, nec ullum periculum timeat,umat cum sanguine.

† Ibid. n. 14. Si Sacerdos evomat Eucharistiam, si species integræ appareant, reverenter sumantur, nisi nausea fiat; tunc enim species consecratæ cautè separentur, et in aliquo loco sacro reponantur, donec corrumpantur, &c.

‡ In Oseam, c. 8.—Cujus caro cibus credentium est.

§ In Genes. c. 31.—Caro ejus qui est esca Sanctorum. Quam si quis manducaverit, non morietur in æternum. [p. 304. Colon. Agr. 1617.]

¶ In Psal. 118. Serm. 18. Hic est panis vitæ: qui manducat vitam mori non potest; quomodo enim morietur, cui cibus vita est? [vol. 1. p. 1203. Par. 1686.]

¶¶ Serm. de Verb. Evangel. apud Bedam in 1 Cor. 10. Quando Christus manducatur, vita manducatur—quando manducatur, reficit.

Again, in another place,* distinguishing the portion of saints and sinners, he makes the true sons of the Church to partake both of the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth. This fatness of the earth he explains to be “all visible sacraments, for they pertain to the earth. All these,” he says, “the good and bad in the Church have in common. For the bad have and partake of the sacraments, and, what the faithful know, made of bread-corn and wine.”

If then the visible sacrament, and that which has its original from earth, be all that evil men partake of, to be sure they have nothing to do with Christ, the heavenly bread, or his body, which (to use his phrase) does not “pertain to earth at all,” but is a divine food.

Which none has more admirably and fully spoke to than Origen.† Who having said a great deal about Christ’s typical and symbolical body (which St. Austin called before, the visible sacrament), he goes on thus: “Many things also might be said concerning that Word which was made flesh, and the true food, which whosoever eats shall surely live for ever, no wicked man being capable of eating it. For if it were possible, that a wicked man, continuing such, should eat him that was made flesh, seeing he is the Word, and the living bread, it would not have been written, that whosoever eats this bread shall live for ever.”

This is that which Macarius‡ discourses of so largely and piously. Telling us, that as a great rich man, having both servants and sons, “gives one sort of meat to the servants,

* Serm. 44. de Diversis. Filii Ecclesiæ habent à rore cœli et fertilitate terræ, &c.—à fertilitate terræ omnia visibilia Sacramenta. Visibile enim Sacramentum ad terram pertinet. Hæc omnia communia habent in Ecclesia boni et mali. Nam et ipsi habent, et participant Sacramentis, et, quod norunt fideles, à tritico et vino.

† In Matth. c. 15. v. 15. p. 253. Ed. Huet. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ τυπικοῦ καὶ συμβολικοῦ σώματος. Πολλὰ δ’ ἂν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο τοῦ λόγου, ὡς γέγονε σὰρξ καὶ ἀληθινὴ βρωσις, ἣν τινα ὁ φάγων πάντως ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐδενὸς δυναμένου φαῦλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν. Εἰ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπὶ φαῦλον μένοντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα λόγον ὄντα καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐγέγραπτο ὅτι πᾶς ὁ φάγων τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. [vol. 3. p. 500. Par. 1740.]

‡ Homil. 14.—’Αλλὴν τροφήν δίδωσι τοῖς δούλοις, καὶ ἄλλην τοῖς ἰδίοις τέκνοις—’Επειδὴ τὰ τέκνα κληρονομοῦσι τὸν πατέρα, καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσθίουσι—’Ιδίαν ἀνάπανσιν καὶ τροφήν καὶ βρώσιν καὶ πόσιν, παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκτρέφει, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς, &c.

and another to the sons that he begot, who being heirs to their father, do eat with him.—So,” says he, “Christ, the true Lord, himself created all, and nourishes the evil and unthankful ; but the children begotten by him, who are partakers of his grace, and in whom the Lord is formed ; he feeds them with a peculiar refection and food, and meat and drink above and besides other men, and gives himself to them that have conversation with their Father, as the Lord says, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abides in me, and I in him, and shall not see death.”

With whom St. Jerome* agrees, speaking of voluptuous men : “Not being holy in body and spirit, they neither eat the flesh of Jesus, nor drink his blood ; concerning which he says, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life.”

St. Austin also says,† “Of that bread, and from our Lord’s own hand, both Judas and Peter took a part.”

But then he makes the distinction himself,‡ that Judas received only the “bread of the Lord,” when the other disciples received the “bread that was the Lord.” Which is directly contrary to transubstantiation ; for according to that, even such a one as Judas must eat the Lord, and no bread, when this Father says, that he ate the bread and no Lord.

Neither is St. Austin singular in this phrase of the “bread of the Lord,” to signify the real substance of that element that is eaten in the sacrament, and not the proper body of Christ.

For so St. Jerome uses it,§ when he speaks of corn, of which the “bread of the Lord is made.”

It is also very observable, that as the Council of Trent (as we heard before) makes eating Christ sacramentally and really to be the same, and spiritual eating to be of another sort, not real, but one would think, rather imaginary : on the quite contrary, the Fathers distinguish the sacramental eating from the real, and make the spiritual and real eating to be the

* In c. 66. *Esaiæ. Dum non sunt sancti corpore et spiritu, nec comedunt carnem Jesu, neque bibunt sanguinem ejus, de quo ipse loquitur ; Qui comedit carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, habet vitam æternam.* [vol. 4. p. 816. Veron. 1735.]

† *Contra Donatist. post collat. c. 6. De ipso pane et de ipsa Dominica manu, et Judas partem et Petrus accepit.*

‡ *Tract. 59. in Joan. Evang. Illi manducabant Panem Dominum, ille Panem Domini contra Dominum ; illi vitam, ille poenam.*

§ *In Jerem. c. 31. Confluent ad bona Domini super frumento, de quo conficitur Panis Domini.* [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 1063.]

same; and they will grant that a bad man may eat Christ sacramentally (that is, in sign), but not really; for so none but the faithful can do it.

For thus St. Austin:* “Then will this be, that is, the body and blood of Christ will be life to every one, if that which is visibly taken in the sacrament, be in the truth itself spiritually eaten and spiritually drank.”

Which in another place† he expresses by the “visible sacrament,” and the “virtue of the sacrament.”

Again most expressly:‡ “Christ saying, He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him, shews what it is, not sacramentally, but really and in truth, to eat Christ’s body and drink his blood.”

And therefore in the same chapter,§ speaking of wicked men, he says, “Neither can they be said to eat the body of Christ, since they are not to be accounted Christ’s members.”

St. Austin again distinguishes the *sacramentum rei* (the sacrament of the thing) from the *res sacramenti*, the thing of which it is a sacrament: “The sacrament of this thing—is prepared on the Lord’s table, and received from the Lord’s table, to some to life, and to others to destruction. But the thing itself of which it is a sacrament, is for life to every one that partakes of it, and to none for destruction.”||

For as St. Chrysostom phrases it,¶ “He that receives this bread, will be above dying.”

I will conclude this chapter with two remarkable places of St. Austin.

The first is cited by Prosper, who has gathered St. Austin’s

* Serm. 2. de Verb. Apost. Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, Vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis Christi, si, quod in Sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritualiter manducetur, spiritualiter bibatur.

† Tract. 26. in Joan. Quod pertinet ad virtutem Sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile Sacramentum.

‡ De Civit. Dei, l. 21. c. 25. Ipse dicens, qui manducat carnem meam et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet et ego in eo, ostendit quid sit, non Sacramento tenus, sed revera Corpus Christi manducare et sanguinem ejus bibere.

§ Ibid. Neque enim isti dicendi sunt manducare Corpus Christi, quoniam nec in membris computandi sunt Christi.

|| Tract. 26. in Joan. Hujus rei Sacramentum—in Dominica Mensa præparatur, et de Dominica Mensa sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam; quibusdam ad exitium. Res vero ipsa cujus et Sacramentum est, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium quicumque ejus particeps fuerit.

¶ Catena in Joh. 6. 49. Ταύτης μὲν τοι τῆς τροφῆς μεταλαβὼν, ἀνώτερος ἔσται τοῦ θανάτου.

sentences: "He receives the food of life, and drinks the cup of eternity, who abides in Christ, and in whom Christ inhabits. For he that disagrees with Christ, neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood; although he takes indifferently every day the sacrament of so great a thing to the condemnation of his presumption."*

The other place is, upon the sixth chapter of St. John: "Christ," says he, "expounded the manner of his assignment and gift, how he gave his flesh to eat, saying, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. The sign that he eateth and drinketh is this, if he abides in Christ and Christ in him, if he dwells in him and is inhabited by him, if he cleaves to him so as not to be forsaken by him."†

And he concludes with this exhortation:‡ "Let all that has been said, Beloved, prevail thus far with us, that we may not eat Christ's flesh and blood in sacrament (or sign) only, but may eat and drink as far as to the participation of the Spirit, that we may remain as members in our Lord's body, that we may be enlivened by his Spirit," &c.

* Lib. Sentent. ex August. sententia (mihi) 341. vel 339. Escam vitæ accipit et æternitatis poculum bibit, qui in Christo manet, et ejus Christus habitator est. Nam qui discordat à Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit; etiamsi tantæ rei Sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat. [p. 956. Par. 1711.]

† Tract. 27. in Joan. in initio. Exposuit (Christus) modum attributionis hujus et doni sui, quomodo daret carnem suam manducare, dicens, Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet et ego in illo. Signum quia manducat et bibit, hoc est, si manet et manetur, si habitat et inhabitatur, si hæret ut non deseratur.

‡ Ibid. prope finem. Hoc ergo totum ad hoc nobis valeat, dilectissimi, ut carnem Christi et sanguinem Christi non edamus tantum in Sacramento, quod et multi mali; sed usque ad Spiritus participationem manducemus et bibamus, ut in Domini corpore tanquam membra maneamus, et ejus spiritu vegetemur, &c.

CHAP. XIV.

THE FOURTEENTH DIFFERENCE.

Several usages and practices of the Fathers relating to the Eucharist, declare, that they did not believe Transubstantiation, or the presence of Christ's natural body there; whose contrary practices or forbearance of them, in the Roman Church, are the consequences of that belief. As also some things the present Roman Church practises, because they believe Transubstantiation and the Corporal Presence, and dare not neglect to practise, so believing; which yet the ancient Church did forbear the practice of, not knowing any obligation thereto; which plainly argues their different sentiments about the Eucharist in those points.

It is possible this argument may have as good an effect to open men's eyes, as any I have urged before, though, I think, I have urged very cogent ones. For though some men have a faculty eternally to wrangle about the words and sayings of others, and to shift off an argument of that kind, yet they cannot so easily get rid of an objection from matter of fact, and a plain practice. I shall therefore try, by several instances of usages and forbearances, in the cases above-named, whether we may not see as clearly as if we had a window into their breasts, that the ancient Church, and the present Church of Rome, were of different minds and opinions in this matter.

1. *Instance.*—It was a part of the discipline of the ancient Church, to exclude the uninitiated (catechumens), the *energumeni* (acted by evil spirits), and penitents, from being present at the mysteries, and to enjoin all that were present to communicate.

It is so known a case, that the deacons in the churches cried aloud to bid such depart, as I before named, when they went to the prayers of the mass (which was so called from this dismissal of catechumens, penitents, &c.), that I shall not stay to prove it. (See the Constitutions attributed to Clemens, l. 8. cap. 6, 7, 9, 12, and St. Chrysostom, Hom. 3. in Ep. ad Ephes.)

By the same laws of the Church, those that remained, after the exclusion of the rest, were all to communicate; whom the author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, under the name of

Dionysius the Areopagite,* calls, “persons worthy to behold the divine mysteries, and to communicate.”

For this (because it is not so universally acknowledged as the former) I shall refer the reader to the second Canon of the Council of Antioch,† which says: “That they which enter into the Church of God, and hear the holy Scriptures, and do not communicate in prayers with the people, or turn away from receiving the eucharist through any disorderliness, are to be cast out of the Church, till they confess their sin and repent,” &c.

Which is the same in sense with that Canon,‡ which is very ancient (though not Apostolical, as it pretends): “That all the faithful that enter, and hear the Scriptures, and do not continue at prayer, and also at the holy communion, are to be separated, as those that bring disorder into the Church.”

St. Chrysostom discharges a great deal of zeal as well as eloquence against those persons that were present at the eucharist, and did not communicate:§ “In vain,” he tells them, “does the priest stand at the altar when none participate; in vain is the daily sacrifice.”—He minds them, that the cryer had said indeed, that “those that were in penitence (or penance) should depart: but thou,” says he, “art not of that number, but of those that may participate (*i. e.* not being hindered by any Church censures as penitents were), and regardest it not.” He says, “That the king at the marriage-supper, did not ask, Why didst thou sit down? But, Why didst thou enter?” And adds, “That whosoever (being present) does not receive the mysteries, stands there too boldly and impudently.” The rest is well worthy the reading in that Homily.

* Hierarch. Eccles. c. 3. *Μένουσι δὲ οἱ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐποψίας καὶ κοινωνίας ἄξιοι.* [vol. 1. p. 192. Venet. 1755.]

† Can. 2. Concil. Antioch. — *Καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατὰ τινὰ ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c.*

‡ Canon. Apostol. 9. *Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας μὴ παραμένοντας καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.* [Ibid. p. 27.]

§ Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Ep. ad Ephes. *Εἰκὴ θυσία καθημερινὴ εἰκὴ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. — ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέλθετε πάντες. — τῶν δυναμένων μετέχειν καὶ οὐ φροντίζεις — οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, διὰ τί κατεκλίνθης; ἀλλὰ, τί εἰσῆλθες; — πᾶς ὁ μὴ μετέχων μυστηρίων, ἀναισχύντως καὶ ἰταμῶς ἐστηκώς.* [vol. 11. p. 26. Par. 1838.]

Gregory the Great also tells us,* it was the custom in his time for a deacon to cry aloud, "If any do not communicate, let him depart." There must be no spectators, that is, unless they were communicants. For as Justin Martyr † acquaints us, it was the usage of his time, that "the deacons reach to every one present of the consecrated bread, and wine and water, that they may communicate."

If we now look upon the practice of the Roman Church, we shall find all quite contrary. There they may have as many spectators as please to come, when there is but one alone that receives the eucharist, I mean the priest. Any one that knew nothing of the matter, would conclude, when he saw their masses, that they came thither about another business ordinarily than to eat and drink in remembrance of their Saviour; which was the only use that the ancients understood of it. They considered it as a sacrament, by institution designed to represent Christ's passion and crucifixion; these consider the presence of his glorified body and his divinity there, and are taken up with adoration more than any thing else. *That* they will not abate every day you are present, when the host is shewn for that end: but as for the other, the receiving of the eucharist, they are satisfied if it be done but once a year. The ancients looked upon it as an invitation to a table, where the sacrament was to be their meal; but here you are called to look upon the king present, and sitting in state; and chiefly to take care that, upon the sign given, all may fall down together and worship him.

St. Chrysostom ‡ calls it a contumely against him that invites one to a feast, to be present and not to partake of it; and asks, "Whether it had not been better for such a one to have been absent?"

But the Council of Trent was of another mind, and their opinion is, § "That those masses in which the priest com-

* Dialog. 1. 2. cap. 23. Si quis non communicat, det locum. [vol. 2. p. 253. Par. 1705.]

† Apolog. 2. Οἱ διάκονοι διδόσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ὕδατος. [p. 83. Par. 1742.]

‡ Loc. citat. Οὐ βέλτιον τὸν τοιοῦτον μῆδε παραγίνεσθαι;

§ Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. Non propterea Missas illas in quibus solus sacerdos Sacramentaliter communicat, ut privatas et illicitas damnare, sed probare, atque adeo commendare. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 854. Lut. Par. 1672.]

municates sacramentally alone, are not to be condemned as private and unlawful, but to be approved and commended.*

And not content with this, they thunder out an anathema* against those that say (and let St. Chrysostom look to himself), that "such masses are unlawful and to be abrogated."

At these masses the novices and catechumens may be present, and no deacon cries out to them to withdraw; for though indeed they may not eat, yet they may worship: and the penitents that were excluded, while their penance lasted, from so much as seeing the sacrament in the ancient Church; in this Church, the oftener they come for this purpose, the more welcome; and by direction, when public penance has been enjoined, the holy altar has been the place chosen before which to perform it; as their Annals† tell us, of one Sangunus, a noted courtier in Japan, that for the expiation of a crime, came and fell down at the altar, in the church of the royal city, and there before the holy sacrament, clawed his back with scourges so long as one of the seven penitential psalms was recited.

These practices, though so contrary to one another, are yet natural enough, and well suited to the principles of each Church; but then, it is plain, their principles and opinions concerning the sacrament, were widely different; and that such things were never practised of old, was not because Christians then wanted their devotion, but their faith.

2. *Instance.*—A second practice of the Christian Church of old was, giving the communion in both kinds; the cup, that is, as well as the bread; though now, by a law of the Roman Church (in the Council of Constance and Trent) abolished.

That the ancient practice was to deliver it in both kinds, has been often proved by learned men on our side, and particularly by an excellent late discourse against the Bishop of Meaux‡ upon this subject; and has been also acknowledged by the learned men of the Roman communion, such as Cassander, Wicelius, Petavius, &c. Which makes it needless to insist further upon the proof of it.

We are sure it continued thus even to the age when transubstantiation was established by the Lateran Council, since we

* Ibid. Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Missas, in quibus solus sacerdos Sacramentaliter communicat, illicitas esse adeoque abrogandas, anathema sit. [p. 856.]

† Annal. Japon. ad An. 1579.

‡ Discourse of the Communion in one Kind, in Answer to the Bishop of Meaux's Treatise.

find a whole army of Charles King of Sicily (as the historian* tells us), just before they went to the fight against Manfred, A.D. 1265 (or 1266, as other historians will have it), "all received the body and blood of Christ." Aquinas agrees, "that it was the ancient custom of the Church, that all that communicated of the body, communicated also of the blood.† But for to prevent spilling the blood," he says, "in some churches the practice is, that the priest alone communicates in the blood, and the rest in the body of Christ."

We see then about what time this grand sacrilege, as P. Gelasius calls it,‡ of dividing one and the same mystery, made a more public entry into the Church; it was when transubstantiation had been newly made an article of faith; and it was very natural that this practice should, within a while, by easy steps, be a consequent of that. For transubstantiation makes Christ's flesh and blood (the same which he took of the Virgin, and which he had when he was crucified) to be actually and corporally present in the eucharist, and that in a glorified state, to which divine adoration is due; that is apt to beget a profound veneration, and a mighty concern, lest any thing contumelious should happen to that which men justly account so very precious. Now it being certain, that the blood which is under the species of wine, is subject to those casualties, by reason of its fluidity, which the other species is not so liable to; and that in the glorified state, the body and blood are inseparable; and therefore that one species (*viz.* that of the bread) contains under it both the body and blood together; what could be more agreeable to such sentiments as these, than that men should willingly part with their right, in a matter wherein they seem not to be much wronged (being only deprived of a few accidents of wine, when the blood was secured to them), to secure the honour of their Saviour. It is true, indeed, that the stream of the contrary custom made it difficult to remove that at once, notwithstanding this danger of effusion

* Apud Du Chesne, tom. 5. Hist. Franc. p. 840. citante Dallæo, de cultib. Latin. lib. 5. c. 12. Cum exercitus esset in procinctu, Decanum Meldensem, associatis sibi Monachis, corpus et sanguinem Christi regiis militibus dedisse.

† In Joan. 6. Propter periculum effusionis.

‡ Speaking of some persons that taking the Body, abstained from the Cup of the Holy Blood, says, Aut integra Sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius, ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi Sacrilegio non potest pervenire. Apud Gratian. decret. 3. part. 2. dist. [p. 1168. Colon. Munat. 1670.]

of the blood, which they had been wont in all preceding ages to receive; therefore the wits of men being set on work by a new transubstantiating doctrine, found out some new devices, practised first in the cells of the monks; but afterwards, about the time of Berengarius, brought into the churches to secure that dreadful danger, and yet not deprive the people of communicating in the blood of Christ.

One was the device of intinction, or steeping the bread in the wine, and thus receiving both at once, which as Cardinal Cusanus informs us,* though it went not down without great contention at the first change from the old practice, yet the universal Church, complying with the times, permitted it.

But it was not long it was thus suffered, for by a decree of Pope Urban II. in the Council of Clermont, and by an enforcement of it by his successor Pope Paschal II. (whose epistle to Pontius, abbot of Cluny, concerning this matter, Baronius has given us†) this practice was abrogated.

A second device also, about the same time, was brought into play, of sucking the consecrated wine through little pipes or canes (called *pugillares*) like quills; concerning which Cassander (*de Communionem sub utraque*) gives us an account, and that some of them were to be seen in his time. And, indeed, this seems to be a sufficient security to the danger of effusion, and also prevents that great offence of any drops of blood sticking to the beards of people when they drank out of the cup; and yet even this would not satisfy, nor any thing else be a sufficient caution against the profanation of the blood, but only debarring the people wholly of it. Yet this way is still used by the Pope himself (and I think he has the sole privilege to do it), who in that which is called the *Missa Papalis*, when he himself celebrates and communicates, he sucks part of the blood through a golden quill.‡

But neither does he always thus communicate, for their book of Sacred Ceremonies acquaints us,§ “that when he cele-

* Epist. 3. ad Bohem. Non parva altercatio in principio mutationis illius prioris—tamen universalis Ecclesia, quia ita temporis congruebat, populum cum intincto pane communicare permisit.

† Baronius Append. ad tom. 12. ad An. 1118.

‡ Cum pontifex Corpus Christi sumpserit, Episcopus Cardinalis porrigit ei calicem, quem Papa ponit in manibus Diaconi existente, et Sanguinis partem sugit. Sacrarum Cerimon. lib. 2. cap. de Missa Majori, Papa personaliter celebrante.

§ Ibid. cap. Si Papa in nocte Nativitatis personaliter celebrat, non sugit sanguinem cum calamo, sed more communi.

brates personally on the night of the nativity of our Lord, that all things are observed that are described in the Papal Mass, except that he communicates at the altar alone, and not in his eminent and high seat, and does not suck the blood with a quill, but takes it after the common manner."

But now, after all, what account can we give of the ancient Fathers? They apprehended it necessary to receive in both kinds in all their public communions, and so they practised. Must we not then accuse them, either of great dulness, or indevotion? Either that they wanted sagacity, in not apprehending the imminent danger they in their way exposed the blood of Christ to; or that they were guilty of a strange carelessness and indifferency, in not preventing it by any of those methods which the Roman Church hath found out to do it? Truly, for my part, I am inclined to have as great, if not a greater opinion of them, in both respects (especially for their devotion), than I can have of the Roman Church; and I am the more persuaded hereto, because the Apostles themselves must come in to the side of the ancient Church, their practice being the same: not to insist upon the deference that ought to be paid to that Holy Spirit that we are sure acted them; who if there had been any such real danger of profanation, by receiving in both kinds, or ever was likely to be any such, would not have failed to have given directions to them how they should avoid it; and we cannot think the Apostles would not have set down those directions to us in some of their writings. But they have not done it; no, not the zealous St. Paul, who yet says so much to the careless Corinthians about this argument, and tells them, that they "came together, not for the better, but the worse;" charges them with unworthy receiving, and being thereby "guilty of the body and blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. xi.), and that "for this cause many were weak and sick among them," and were "judged of the Lord" for their profanations, &c. But this is none of the charges against them, nor does he direct them to any of the wise methods of the Roman Church for preventing this danger; though he says, what he received of the Lord he delivered to them.

There is nothing then remains, but that we assign the true cause of this different practice; which can be none other but the Roman Church's innovating in their faith about the sacrament, and altering so their opinions about the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, that they require a different conduct for their devotion; so that neither the practice of the primitive

Fathers, nor the rules of the Apostles, will suit and agree with their persuasions and apprehensions. But now the faith of the ancient Church in this matter was such, as neither requires nor can admit of any alteration like what the Church of Rome has made in communicating the people only in one kind. For, as I have before proved, they looked upon this sacrament, not as an actual exhibition and presentation of the natural and glorified body of our Saviour, which they believed to be absent and contained in the heavens, but as a representation of his crucified body, where his blood was separated from his body, and poured out of his veins; and that not only the elements, but the sacramental actions of breaking the bread, and pouring out the wine, and our eating and drinking, were instituted to shew forth this painful death of our Lord, and the shedding of his most precious blood for the remission of sins.

By the presence of his glorified body there (as the Roman Church believes) this cannot be done, no breaking, nor no parts to be made of that, nor no separation of blood, as out of the body. But all can be done in the representative body of Christ, which is the eucharist, all the ends of the institution can be there fully effected, and the sacrifice on the cross, in this image of it, made present to our faith, and to our minds, and set lively before us; and by the effects of this upon our hearts, while we partake of the elements, through the powerful grace of God's Holy Spirit, we may be prepared to receive all the blessed fruits and benefits of his passion.

According to these persuasions, it is plain, there can be no abatement of communicating in the cup; because, without that, there is no representation of a crucified body; for the distinct partaking of the blood (not as supposed to be contained and received in the other species) is that which alone shews (as I said before) the separation that was then made of his body and blood.

3. *Instance.*—Another practice of the Roman Church differing from the ancient, is, the elevation of the eucharist, that all present may at once adore it. For thus the Missal* directs: "That when the priest comes to the words of consecration, and has said, This is my body; then holding the host (as he is

* Ritus celebr. Missam, cap. 8. Dicit, Hoc est enim Corpus meum, Quibus prolatis, celebrans Hostiam tenens inter pollices et indices—genuflexus eam adorat. Tunc se erigens, quantum commodè potest, elevat in altum Hostiam, et intentis in eam oculis (quod in Elevatione Calicis facit) populo reverenter ostendit adorandam.

directed), he kneels down and adores it. Then raising himself as high as he is able, he lifts up the host on high, and fixing his eyes upon it (which he does also in the elevation of the cup), he shews the host reverently to the people to be adored."

This is the present practice; which the Council of Trent* endeavours to countenance, by telling us, "that there is no doubt but that all Christians, according to the custom always received in the catholic Church, ought to give the worship of *latria* (which is supreme worship) to the most holy sacrament in their worship of it."

By which sacrament (as their best interpreters explain it) is meant, *Totum visibile Sacramentum*, all that is visible there (together with Christ), and is one entire object, consisting of Christ and the species, and must be together adored. But whatsoever, besides Christ who is invisible, is visible there, call it what you please, is a creature; and I am sure the ancient Church never practised the adoration of any such; and it is strange impudence to talk of the custom of the catholic Church in this matter. Neither can it be shewn by any good testimonies of the ancients that this their elevation, in order to adoration, was ever used by them. No, not so much as any elevation for any purpose is mentioned by those Fathers, who on set purpose have given an account of the rites of communicating in the first ages of the Church, neither by Justin Martyr, nor the author of the Constitutions called Apostolical; nor Cyril of Jerusalem, nor the pretended Denis the Areopagite, or any other before the sixth century.

A diligent searcher of antiquity tells us,† "that he cannot find among all the interpreters of ecclesiastical offices in the Latin Church, the mention of any sort of elevation before the eleventh century" (that is, the age of innovation in the faith about the eucharist).

As for the Greeks of later date, in them we may meet indeed with an elevation of the eucharist, but for quite other purposes than adoration. One of the ends of their elevation is mentioned by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople,‡ which was,

* Sess. 13. c. 5. Nullus dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles pro more in Ecclesia Catholica semper recepto, latriæ cultum qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo Sacramento in veneratione adhibeant. [Labbe, ut supra, vol. 14. p. 806.]

† Dallæus de Relig. cult. object. l. 2. c. 5.

‡ In tom. 2. Bibl. Pat. Gr. Lat.—Τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὑψωσιν, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ θάνατον, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

to represent Christ lifted up upon the cross, and his death upon it, and the resurrection itself.

Another reason they give is, by the shewing of this food of the saints to invite and call them to partake of it. Which Nic. Cabasilas gives a full account of,* saying, “that after the priest has been partaker of the sanctified things, he turns to the people, and shewing them the holy things (*i. e.* the bread and wine), calls those that are willing to communicate.” Or, as he still more fully explains it, “the life-giving bread being received (by the priest) and shewn, he calls those that are likely to receive it worthily, saying, Holy things are for the holy.† Behold the bread of life which ye see. Run therefore you that are to partake of it; but it is not for all, but for him that is holy,” &c.

It is certain then that the Roman practice (when for adoration they elevate and shew the host) is an innovation; and that it proceeded from the novel doctrines then set on foot in the Church is highly probable; not only because they commenced about the same time; but also because their practice suits so exactly with, and springs so freely from those doctrines, it being so natural, when such a glorious body as our Saviour’s is believed to be made present where it was not before, to be wholly taken up with thoughts of adoration and worship above anything else; as it is notoriously true in this Church, where the main end of the eucharist, *viz.* communicating in the body and blood of Christ, is strangely neglected; and they are more concerned in carrying the sacrament in processions, in praying to it before their altars, in preparing splendid tabernacles where it may repose, decking and adorning the places of its residence, and the like, than in engaging men to receive it; which was the main thing the ancient Church designed, that they might worthily partake of it; and when this was not designed, their way was wholly to conceal it.

4. *Instance.*—Another practice of the Roman Church different from that of the ancient Church, is, that now the communicants’ hands are unemployed in receiving the eucharist, and all is put by the priest into their mouths.

Their hands indeed may bear a part in their adoration, and shewing some signs of that, but otherwise they are useless.

* In Expos. Liturg. apud Bibl. Pat. Gr. Lat. tom. 2. ‘Ο δὲ ἱερεὺς μετασχὼν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ δείξας τὰ ἅγια καλεῖ τοὺς μετασχεῖν βουλομένους.

† Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις.

For now since Christ's body is believed to lie hid under the species of bread and wine, that is thought too sacred to be touched by the hands of any but the priests. We may therefore conclude fairly, that if the Fathers had not this care to forbid this touching by the people's hands, they had not this faith of the Roman Church, that the natural body of Christ is in the eucharist; since if this had been their opinion, in all probability their practice would have been the same, since that they had an equal concern for their Saviour's honour cannot well be doubted of.

Now that they gave the sacrament into the people's hands for the space of eight hundred years or more, is clear by their testimonies. Of which I will mention only three or four out of an hundred that might be given.

Clemens of Alexandria says,* "that when the priests have divided the eucharist they permit every one of the people to take a portion of it."

Tertullian† reproaches the Christian statuariers, "that they reached those hands to the Lord's body, which had made bodies for devils."

St. Ambrose's‡ story is a known one, how he repelled Theodosius from the holy table after the slaughter he had made at Thessalonica, with these words: "How wilt thou extend thy hands, yet dropping with the blood of an unjust slaughter? How with those hands wilt thou receive the Lord's most holy body?"

He that will consult Cyril of Jerusalem's fifth Mystagogical Catechism, will find him there directing the communicant how to order his hands and fingers in taking the sacrament into them, which a Roman master of the ceremonies would not have said a word about, being only concerned about the mouth.

That this manner of receiving was used in the ninth century appears by the capitulary of Carolus Mag.,§ who ordered, "that all that received the eucharist (*acceperint*, that is, into their hands), and did not take it (*sumpsertint*, that is, into

* Stromat. lib. 1. "Εκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσι. [p. 318. Venet. 1757.]

† Lib. de Idol. cap. 7.—Eas manus admovere Corpori Domini, quæ Dæmoniis corpora conferunt.

‡ Apud Theodoret. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 5. c. 19.—Πῶς δὲ τοιαύταις ὑποδέξῃ χειρὶ τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ πανάγιον σῶμα; [vol. 3. p. 1046. Hal. 1771.]

§ Capit. Car. M. lib. 7. Placuit ut omnes qui Sacram acceperint Eucharistiam, et non sumpserint, ut sacrilegi repellantur.

their mouths), should be kept back as sacrilegious persons." If they had received it by their mouths only, this distinction could not have been made.

5. *Instance*.—Another practice, very unagreeable with the belief of transubstantiation, is this: that the ancient Church was not afraid to administer the eucharistical wine in glass vessels and cups; though now it would be a great crime in the Church of Rome to do so.

For that ancient practice I might urge that of Tertullian,* who, reflecting upon the Church's indulgence to sinners, mentions the picture of the shepherd carrying the lost sheep on his back, drawn on the chalices, which might be seen by all, being pellucid.

To which he opposes,† afterwards, "the Scriptures of that Shepherd that could not be broken."

As also that of St. Jerome,‡ where speaking of St. Exuperius, he says, "Nothing is richer than he who carries the Lord's body in a wicker basket, and his blood in a glass."

But it is needless to add more testimonies, because the thing is confessed by Baronius,§ in his notes upon the Acts of St. Donatus, who confesses, "that glass chalices seem to have been in use from the times of the Apostles." And says a great deal more than I have mentioned to confirm it.

And that this custom continued long in the Church may be concluded from hence, that Baronius can find no earlier prohibition of it than that of the Council of Rheims, which he says was held in the days of Charles the Great. I have nothing to do with the commendation he adds of this prohibition (being concerned only in the matter of fact), saying, "that it was very laudable;" but I do not think it was so merely for his reason (*ob periculum quod immineret materiæ fragili*), "because of the imminent danger in such brittle matter." For if the custom was as ancient as the Apostles, how came they to want that quick sense the Roman Church now has to prevent that danger? But we may be certain that they, and the

* Lib. de Pudicit. c. 7, et 10. Procedant ipsæ picturæ calicum vestrorum, si vel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano an Ethnico peccatori de restitutione conliniet.

† Cap. 10.—At ego ejus Pastoris Scripturas haurio, qui non potest frangi.

‡ Epist. 4. ad Rusticum. Nihil illo ditius, qui Corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro. [vol. 1. p. 941. Veron. 1734.]

§ Notis ad Martyrol. Rom. in August. 7. A temporibus Apostolorum vitreus Calix in usu fuisse videtur.

Church after them, that used such glasses, had not the present persuasions of this Church about a hidden deity; and the latent glorified flesh and blood of Christ in the eucharist, else they would have had both the discretion and devotion to have provided him a better place of reception.

Now they have done it in the Canon Law,* enjoining, that the cup and patent be, if not of gold, at least of silver (allowing only pewter in case of great poverty), but “in nowise the cup must be of brass or copper, the virtue of the wine causing a rust that procures vomiting” (which yet one would think the blood of Christ, where there is no wine, should not cause), “but over a wooden or a glass cup none may presume to say mass.” All is very agreeable to their several persuasions.

6. *Instance.*—To this let me add another instance, more difficult still to be reconciled with the belief of transubstantiation, *viz.* the mixing the blood of Christ with ink for writing things of moment. So I call the consecrated wine, according to the usual language of the Fathers, giving it the name of Christ’s blood; but it is not possible to believe that they who thus used it thought it to be so, any otherwise than by representation; since you can hardly think of a higher profanation, by any mixture, than this, of blending the true blood of Christ with ink, unless I except the case of mixing it with poison for the destruction of persons; and thus Pope Victor II. and Pope Victor III. and Henry VII. emperor, all died by receiving poison in the sacrament, as is attested by numerous and credible historians.

Taking it therefore for granted, that nobody will have the confidence to assert, that they who thus mixed it with ink did believe transubstantiation, I shall now set down three remarkable instances of a Pope, a General Council, and a King, that thus used it.

The first is of Pope Theodorus, who as Theophanes (whose words Baronius† has given us) relates, when Pyrrhus the Monothelite departed from Rome and was come to Ravenna, and returned like a dog to his vomit; “and when this was found out, P. Theodorus, calling a full congregation of the Church, came to the sepulchre of the head of the Apostles, and

* Can. ut Calix. dist. 1. de Consecrat.—De ære aut aurichalco non fiat Calix, quia ob vini virtutem æruginem parit, quæ vomitum provocat. Nullus autem de ligneo, aut vitreo calice præsumat missam cantare. [Corp. Jur. Canon. p. 1157. Colon. Munat. 1670.]

† Ad An. D. 648. sec. 14.

asking for the divine cup, he dropped some of the life-giving blood into the ink ; and so, with his own hand, made the deposition of excommunicated Pyrrhus." Thus Theophanes.

The next instance is, the doing of the same in the condemnation and deposition of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, by the Fathers of the 4th Council of Constantinople (which the Romanists call the 8th General Council), which is thus related by Nicetas in the life of Ignatius :* "The bishops subscribed his deposition, not with bare ink, but, which may make one tremble (as I have heard it attested by those that knew it), dipping the pen in the very blood of our Saviour ; thus they condemned and exauthorized Photius, and with him all that had been ordained by him." All this was Anno Dom. 869.

The last example is of a peace or agreement struck up between Charles the Bald, and Bernard Count of Barcelona, in the same age, related by Odo Aribert (whose fragment Baluzius has given us),† who tells us, "that agreement at Toulouse was confirmed and signed between the King and the Count, *sanguine eucharistico*, with the blood of the eucharist." Though notwithstanding this, Charles stabbed Bernard with his own hand.

7. *Instance.*—The next instance shall be, the different practices of the ancient Church and the present Roman, with reference to the reservation of the eucharist, after the communion was ended, and what they did with the remains not received.

Concerning which, for method's sake, I shall refer all to three remarkable differences.

1. *Difference.*—What was not received in the eucharist by the communicants the ancient Church took no care to reserve it ; but the new Roman Church reserves all publicly that is unreceived, and puts little of it to any uses that are sacramental.

I will not say that there was no reservation of the remains, after the eucharist was over, of what had been consecrated and not received, even before the innovations took place, which were introduced by the Roman Church, because there may

* Apud Concil. Labbe, tom. 8. pag. 1231. Οὐ ψιλῶ τῷ μέλανι τὰ χειρόγραφα ποιούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρικωδέστατον, ὡς τῶν εἰδότην ἀκήκοα διαβεβαιουμένων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ σωτήρος τῷ αἵματι βάπτοντες τὴν κάλαμον, οὕτως ἐξεκέρυξαν Φώτιον, οὕτως αὐτὸν κατεδίκασαν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κεχειροτονημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

† Notis ad Agobardum, p. 129.

perhaps be some instances given of communicating the sick out of such remains; and among the Greeks there was also communicating, *ex præsanctificatis*, of what had been consecrated before; but these, I say, were but later customs of the sixth and seventh centuries, and both before and after the contrary custom did prevail; and where these reservations were they employed them to the ends of the sacrament, for to be eaten, and not to be adored.

But as to the most ancient custom of the Church, it is truly given by the author of the Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles among St. Jerome's works.* Who on those words of St. Paul (1 Cor. xi.), "This is not to eat the Lord's supper," &c. says thus, "Meeting in the church they separately made their oblations, and after the communion, whatsoever remained of the sacrifices there in the church, eating a common supper, they consumed them together."

But when these common meals ceased, and this way of consumption with them, the ancient Church had other ways to do it. Witness the practice mentioned by Hesychius,† who explaining that place of the law, which required, "that whatsoever of the flesh and bread remained should be burnt with fire;" adds, "which we see also now sensibly done in the church: that whatsoever happens to remain (of the eucharist) unconsumed, is burnt."

Evagrius‡ mentions another different usage, but with the same effect, at Constantinople, where, he says, "It was an old custom, that when a great deal of the holy parts of the immaculate body of Christ our God remained, they sent for some youths that went to school, of an unripe age, who eat them up."

Nicephorus Callistus says, that this continued so to his time, and that he himself had been one of those youths that ate up those particles.§

Neither was this a practice of the Eastern Church only, but also of the Western, as appears by a canon of a synod of Mas-

* Tom. 9. Edit. Froben. in 1 Cor. 11. In Ecclesia convenientes suas separatim offerebant, et post communionem quæcunque eis de sacrificiis superfuissent, illic in Ecclesia communem cœnam comedentes pariter consumeabant. [vol. 11. p. 931. Veron. 1742.]

† Lib. 2. in Levit. cap. 8. Quod nunc videmus in Ecclesia sensibilibiter fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconsumpta.

‡ Histor. lib. 4. c. 36. Ἐξος παλαιὸν—ὅτ' ἂν πολὺ τι χρῆμα τῶν ἁγίων μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐναπομείνοι, παῖδας ἀφθόρους--ταῦτα ἐσθίου.

§ Lib. 17. Hist. c. 25.

con,* A.D. 585, "Whatsoever relics of the sacrifice shall remain in the repository after mass is ended, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the officers shall bring little children to church, and appointing them to fast, they shall receive the said remains sprinkled with a little wine."

If transubstantiation had been their belief, these had been lewd profanations of the Lord's body.

The Roman Church therefore having this belief, have ordered matters quite otherwise, all is reserved that remains; the pretence I know is, that they may have the sacrament always in readiness to communicate the sick withal; but they have been often told, that this is altogether needless, when the priests with their portable altars, have leave, upon less occasions, to celebrate mass privately; and when so many hundred masses in the great churches are daily celebrated, how easily may the sacrament immediately (without being reserved) be conveyed from one of their altars to such sick persons.

But whatsoever is pretended, they intend other things more suitable to that presence, which they suppose to be there included; stately tabernacles they prepare upon the altars for his repose, with lighted torches burning day and night before it; they come thither, even out of the times of the assemblies, to make their prostrations; for so Cardinal Bellarmine,† among the encouragements to make private prayers in temples, gives this as one reason, "because ordinarily in them, besides the presence of God, which is everywhere, there is also the presence of Christ our Mediator corporally in the eucharist, which increases the hope and trust of him that prays."

This is a new way of increasing faith and hope, which the ancients were not acquainted with; they waited indeed at the altar for that end, when the eucharist was administered, and the evident representation and setting forth of Christ before their eyes as crucified, was very proper to increase their faith and hope: and there in a sacramental sense, while they thus received, in the phrase of Optatus, the "body and blood of

* Concil. Matiscon. Can. 6. apud tom. 5. Conc. Labb. p. 982. Quæcunque reliquæ Sacrificiorum, post peractam Missam in Sacratio supersederint, quarta et sexta feria innocentes, ab illo cujus interest, ad Ecclesiam adducantur, et indicto eis jejuniis easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant.

† De Cultu Sancti. l. 3. c. 4. S. Quinta ratio. Quia in Templis ordinarie præter Dei præsentiam, quæ est ubique, est etiam præsentia Mediatoris Christi corporaliter in Eucharistia, quæ certe auget spem et fiduciam orantis.

Christ did inhabit for certain moments.”* But these “certain moments” will not do the business of this Church, which requires a more constant and fixed residence. They do not think their very temples holy and venerable enough without it; for among the things that make a temple so, and moreover endue it with a kind of a divine virtue, the forenamed Cardinal† reckons “the presence of the body of Christ in the eucharist.” So that it seems by their opinions and practice, the reserved parts of the sacrament are as necessary as those that are received.

Especially if you remember that these reserved parts are designed not only to receive their adorations when they come to say their prayers before it in the churches, but also when it travels abroad, as it does upon many occasions, when none have occasion to receive it, nor think of saying their prayers, being engaged in the streets about their secular affairs; yet even there, when they happen to meet the eucharist going in a solemn procession, they must kneel and adore it. We know also that there is a peculiar feast instituted (though of a late date A.D. 1264) on Corpus Christi Day, on which, with the greatest pomp and state imaginable, it is carried about the streets and public places to be seen and worshipped. Not to mention some extraordinary contingencies, such as the breaking out of a great fire suddenly, occasioning the drawing it out of its retirement to oppose against and stop its fury.

Besides, the Pope himself has often need of the reserved host, not to take and eat (according to the institution), but to take along with him when he, in his pontificals, rides to any church, or takes a journey to a city, this always accompanies him; and the book of Sacred Ceremonies will give you an account of the horse, and the colour of it, upon which it is set, with the bell about his neck, and the pompous train, the canopy carried over it, and lighted torches before it, &c.

Let me only add farther, that in that case which is pretended to be the great occasion for the reservation of the eucharist, I mean, to be in readiness for sick persons, yet even here the procession, and the pomp and the magnificence in the conveying it to such places, and the receiving the adorations of all it meets, seems to be as much designed, as the communi-

* Lib. 6. adv. Donatist. Quid vos offenderat Christus, cujus illic per certa momenta corpus et sanguis habitabat?

† Ibid. cap. 5. sec. Tertio probatur.

eating those sick persons; which they will be contented as soon to let alone, as to abate those attending ceremonies.

The ancient Church had very homely practices; they used and suffered in cases of great necessity, things that this Church would account incongruous, if not profane. Such as that Dionysius of Alexandria* relates concerning old Serapion, who, when he lay a dying, sent a young grandchild of his to call one of the presbyters of Alexandria to give him the sacrament: who by reason of illness, not being able to go along with him, he made no more ado, but took a little portion of the eucharist, and gave it into the youth's hand, and directed him to moisten it, and so to infuse it into his mouth; which he did, and immediately upon the swallowing it, the old man expired; I question whether the gentlemen of the Roman Church will allow this to be a true communion; but I believe, with their persuasions, they would not follow it for the world.

We may more than guess so, by a remarkable story Nic. Trigautius tells us of what was resolved upon by the skilful Jesuits, in a case exactly like the former,† at Pekin in China. One Fabius, who had been converted and baptized, being above eighty years old, fell sick to death; and having been confessed of his sins, with great earnestness desired to receive the sacrament for his *viaticum*; but there being no convenient place at his house to celebrate it in, nor liberty to carry it through the streets in pomp and requisite state, they comforted him with the consideration of his having made confession of his sins, which was necessary; and told him that he might, without taking the sacrament, when he was lawfully hindered, go to heaven; and so they left him. These admirable casuists, you see, determine against communicating the dying person, when it could not be performed with the majestic ceremonies they desired.

The priest of Alexandria, and the Fathers in China, differ very widely in their practice, and you may be sure their persuasions in this matter were as different; the man himself indeed, he tells us, found a way to get the communion at last, by throwing himself into their house, but it was not till they

* Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 44.

† Nic. Trigautii expedit. apud Sinas, l. 5. c. 7. p. 503. Neque domi loco convenienti celebrari poterat, neque pro majestate per vicos deferri: solabantur igitur illum socii necessaria peccatorum confessione perfunctum, posse sine viatico, quod legitime impeditus minime susciperet, cœlestem gloriam introire.

had made a little procession within doors; till the tapestry was spread on the floor, and the tapers lighted, nothing could be done.

In a word, to persuade people of the necessity of these pomps and solemnities in conveying the sacrament to the sick, they produce several miracles,* how, when the priests have carried the eucharist through fields without attendance, troops of asses and mares have run to supply this defect, and having first fallen down on their knees to worship the deity he carried, they have accompanied him to the place, waited at the sick man's door till all was over, and then marched back again in good order with him; God shewing, by these respects paid to it by beasts, what he expected much more from men.

2. *Difference*, relates to what was received in the eucharist; wherein we also see a plain disagreement in the usages of the Primitive, and the present Roman Church. Which is this; the ancient Church allowed great liberty privately to reserve what had been publicly received in the eucharist: which would be now a great crime in the Roman Church; so far from being allowed.

It is undeniable, that anciently this was allowed (whether they did well or ill in it is not at all the question, but concerning the matter of fact). St. Basil† thinks that the custom took its rise from times of persecution, when Christians were forced to flee into deserts, and live in solitude, having not the presence of a priest to communicate them, they had the sacrament reserved by them, and communicated themselves. But he says (even when the reason ceased), this became afterwards an inveterate custom. And in Alexandria and Egypt, “the laics commonly had the sacrament by them in their own houses;”‡ and, he says expressly, this which they so reserved μετ’ ἐξουσίας ἀπάσης, “with all liberty (as his phrase is), was a particle received from the priest’s hand in the church.”

So Nazianzen says of his sister Gorgonia:§ “Whatsoever of the antitypes of the precious body and blood of Christ her hand had treasured up,” &c.

* See the School of the Eucharist. Title, Asses and Mares, &c.

† Epist. 289.

‡ Ibid. Καὶ τῶν ἐν λαῷ τελούντων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἔχει κοινωνίαν ἐν τῇ οἰκῇ αὐτοῦ.—ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιδίδοσι τὴν μερίδα, &c. [vol. 3. p. 267. Par. 1839.]

§ Orat. 11. Καὶ εἶπον τὶ τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἢ χεὶρ ἐθησαύρισεν, &c. [vol. 1. p. 187. Par. 1630.]

Which very phrase intimates, that at several times she had reserved and made a collection of the consecrated elements.

Tertullian supposes it a common practice in his time, when he says,* “Thy husband will not know what it is thou tastest secretly before all other meat,” &c.

It is true indeed, that in the Councils of Saragosa and Toledo in Spain, this was prohibited in the fourth century, upon occasion of the Priscillianists, who did receive the communion as others did, and reserved it, and so could not be discovered, though they never took it: against whom learned men think those Councils made those canons which anathematized those that received, but did not take it down, but reserved it. However, the foresaid custom still prevailed in other places, as might be shewn, if it were needful, as far as the eleventh century. As for the present Church this is wholly a stranger to them; they will have no remains kept anywhere but upon the public altars, where no hand must touch them but the priest’s. The Council of Trent† will not allow the *sanctimoniales*, the very nuns in their choirs, or in any places within their cloister (*intra chorum vel septa monasterii*), to keep it by them, but only *in publica ecclesia*, notwithstanding any former grants and privileges. And a great man,‡ speaking of the former usages, says, “If any layman now should dare to do so, he would be accounted guilty of a crime to be expiated by a grievous punishment, as a profane violator of the most holy sacrament.”

But if it be so great a crime with them to reserve it when they have received it; what will they say to the next difference I shall now mention?

3. *Difference*.—That among the ancients, what was so privately reserved, was put to such uses as the present Roman Church must abhor, because they are direct affronts to the belief of transubstantiation, and the corporal presence.

It appears by St. Cyprian (*libr. de Lapsis*), that the very women in his time had liberty to take the eucharist home with them, and dispose of it as they pleased; and the woman he there speaks of, that locked it up in her chest, had not the

* Lib. 2. ad Uxor. Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes, &c.

† Sess. 25. cap. 10. [Labbe, Concil. ut supra, vol. 14. p. 900.]

‡ Petavius de Pœnit. l. 1. c. 7. Si quis nunc Laicus simile quid auderet, is apud nos censeretur gravi poena expiandi criminis reus, veluti sanctissimi Sacramenti profanus temerator.

Roman opinion of a latent deity, which such usage ill agrees with, or rather affronts.

Neither had Cyril of Jerusalem* their persuasions, when he advises his communicant, “whilst his lips were wet and dewy,” with what he had drank in the cup, with his hands to touch his eyes and forehead, and the rest of the organs of his senses for their sanctification.

But what Gorgonia, Nazianzen’s sister, did with the remains of the antitypes of Christ’s body and blood, exceeds it; when, as he reports of her, to her commendation,† she mixed them with her tears, and anointed her whole body with it, for the recovery out of a grievous disease.

A like story to which St. Austin gives us,‡ of the mother of one Acacius, who was born with closed eyes, which a physician advised should be opened with an instrument of iron; but she refused, and cured him with a cataplasm, or plaster made of the eucharist.

In honour to our Saviour, we find a woman anointing his body; but to make his body an ointment for hers, or to make it into a medicine, is but coarse usage of it, and such as none would adventure upon that was persuaded it was a deified body.

The old custom which Eusebius mentions,§ of sending the sacrament from one bishop to another, as a token of peace and communion, seems to argue but little good manners (with the Church of Rome’s opinions concerning it); for though God sent his Son on a blessed errand and embassy, it looks too saucy for us to send him on ours.

What indecencies would this Church justly fear the body of Christ would be subject to, if there were that permission that was granted of old to carry the eucharist along with them in their voyages at sea? Yet this, Pope Gregory the Great tells us, was practised by Maximianus and his companions returning from Constantinople to Rome; and being in a tempest in the Adriatic sea, “they gave one another the Pax, received the

* Catech. Mystag. 5. Ἐτι δὲ νοτίδος ἐνούσης τοῖς χεῖλεσί σου. [p. 232. Venet. 1763.]

† Orat. 11. Φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ἐπαλείφονσα, &c. [ut supra.]

‡ Lib. 3. secundi op. adv. Jul. Neque hoc permisisse religiosam matrem suam, sed id effecisse ex Eucharistiæ cataplasmate.

§ Lib. 5. Hist. Eccles. c. 24. Ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσι ἐπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν. [vol. 2. p. 1125. Par. 1690.]

body and blood of their Redeemer, recommending every one himself to God.”*

But that which St. Ambrose informs us† of his brother Satyrus, was still more bold: “Who being shipwrecked at sea, and not yet having been baptized, lest he should die without the mystery, he begged of some of those that were baptized, to let him have that divine sacrament of the faithful (the custom then being to have it reserved about them), which they granting, he put it up in his handkerchief, which he then tied about his neck, and so threw himself into the sea.”

Whatsoever conceits Satyrus might have when he borrowed it, yet those that bestowed it could never think fit (with the foresaid belief) to deliver it into the hands of one not yet a perfect Christian, nor to be tied about his neck in a cloth, that I suppose was no corporal (as they call it), to be exposed to the dashing of sea-waves, like a bladder or a cork to keep him from drowning.

But there is a more irreconcilable practice of the ancients with the present belief, with which I shall end this particular about reservation of the sacrament. It is the custom of burying the reserved parts of it with their dead bodies. The author of the life of St. Basil‡ tells us, “that he kept a particle of the eucharist to be buried with him; and left it so to be by his last will.”

St. Gregory§ tells a strange story of a youth that was a monk, who going out of St. Benet’s monastery without his benediction, suddenly was found dead; and being buried, the next day was forced out of his grave, and a second time was found so after burial: whereupon, says he, “they ran weeping to St. Benet, praying him to bestow his blessing upon him. To whom that man of God gave the communion of the Lord’s

* Dial. l. 3. c. 36.—Sibimet pacem dedisse, corpus et sanguinem Redemptoris accepisse; Deo se singulos commendantes. [vol. 2. p. 358. Par. 1705.]

† Orat. de obitu fratris. Priusquam perfectioribus esset initiatus mysteriis, in naufragio constitutus—ne vacuus mysterii exiret è vita, quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab hic Divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit—ligari fecit in orario, et orarium involvit in collo, atque ita se dejecit in mare. [p. 193. Par. 1659.]

‡ Vita Basil. c. 6. Τὴν δὲ (μερίδα) ἐφύλαξεν συνταφῆναι αὐτῷ.

§ Dialog. l. 2. c. 24. — Quibus vir Dei manu sua protenus communionem Dominici corporis dedit, dicens, Ite atque hoc Dominicum corpus super pectus ejus ponite, et sic sepulturæ eum tradite. Quod dum factum fuisset, susceptum corpus ejus terra tenuit, nec ultra projecit. [ut supra, p. 256.]

body, saying, Go and lay this body of our Lord upon his breast, and so bury him." They did so, and then he kept his grave, and the earth threw him out no more.

I know that there are several canons of Councils, made against this practice (as the twentieth canon of the Council of Carthage, and the eighty-third canon of the sixth General Council at Constantinople in Trullo); upon which last canon Zonaras observes, ἔθος ἦν παλαιὸν, &c. "that it was an ancient custom to deliver the Lord's body to dead bodies."

But then methinks it is very observable, that the reason why the Fathers prohibit it, is not such a one as would be given in the Roman Church, from the horrible profanation and contumely in thus using the Lord's body (as it would be if it were truly and properly there, and no bread remaining): but their reason is from hence, "because it is written, Take and eat; but dead carcases can neither take nor eat."

But notwithstanding all these prohibitions, the old custom continued afterwards; for those that write the lives of saints, and tell us of the translating of their bodies from one place to another, inform us, that they have found pieces of the eucharist uncorrupted, lying in their grave. As Surius* tells us in the life of Othmarus, "that when he came to be translated some years after he was buried, they found under his head, and about his breast, little pieces of bread, which were with much reverence laid by his body again."

The like does Amalarius† report (citing Bede for it), that the same was practised when St. Cuthbert was buried: "His head bound with a napkin, the eucharist laid upon his holy breast, with his sacerdotal habit upon him," &c.

It is little less than a demonstration, that they that thus treated the sacrament, did not believe it contained a hidden Deity under the species of bread and wine; for sure they would not then have thus used the Lord of life and glory, to imprison him, as it were, and suffer him to lie buried with the putrid carcases of the dead.

8. *Instance.*—The last instance of differing practices in the two Churches, shall be, "In their over solicitousness to prevent any accidents that might happen in the administration of the eucharist; their frights when any such thing does happen, and

* Surius vit. Othmar. ad Nov. 16. Eas venerabiliter assumens sacro corpori apposuit.

† De Div. Offic. l. 4. c. 41. Oblata super pectus Sanctum posita, vestimento Sacerdotali indutum, &c.

the expiations required for negligence to purge such crimes; such as we have no footsteps of in any of those cases in the ancient Church.

As to the first of those cases, I have somewhat prevented myself, in what I before have shewn, of their devices of intinction, sucking the sacraments through pipes; and, which is worst of all (out of this abundant caution), denying the people the cup. Here therefore I shall mention other cautions, such as those which tend to prevent any fragments falling off from the bread of the eucharist, that no crumbs may have any dishonour done to them, by being left unregarded, but either may be received or reserved.

To this end, they have altered the ancient custom of providing common bread, such as is of ordinary use, for the sacrament, and require that it be unleavened, because this is less apt to break into crumbs, and cleaves better together in its parts. And though they do not say that there is no sacrament where leavened bread is used, yet the Missal* affirms, "That he that consecrates in this does grievously sin;" and herein they have raised (since the days that transubstantiation was forming into a doctrine of faith) and maintained a great controversy with the Greek Church, which does not use their *azymes*, no more than the ancient Church did. They have also invented, about the same time, and still use, those little round wafers (as they are commonly called), which is that which they consecrate for the bread of the sacrament, and take care hereby to prevent breaking into crumbs; for they never break them for distribution, but put them whole into the communicants' mouths; whereas the ancient practice was, to provide one whole loaf of substantial bread, and to divide this into parts, and break it for to be distributed among them all. But these *hostiolæ*, little hosts, are brought to such a tenuity, that they are the next door to what they call *species*, having scarce any substance, and deserve not properly the name of bread, as a learned man† has shewn. The very Missal (*Loc. citat.* n. 7.) supposes, that they may easily disappear, and that a wind may carry them away, for that is one of the cases it mentions (*aut vento, aut miraculo, vel ab aliquo animali accepta*).

It is easy to shew, that all this caution to prevent falling crumbs is perfect nonsense, according to their principles, since the true body of Christ cannot be broken or crumbled

* De Defectibus, c. 3. n. 3. Conficiens graviter peccat.

† Vossius in Thes. Theol. Disp. 19. de S. Cœnæ Symb.

into bits, which is the only substance remaining; the rest, which they call species, being mathematical lines and colours only, and no matter under them; a whole world of them can never make up a crumb of bread, or any fragment, and yet these are they about which such superabundant caution is used; which are mentioned in the Missal.

To name a few. When the priest that celebrates does communicate himself, it is then only that he breaks the host into three parts, one of which he puts into the cup, and after he has taken the other two which are upon the patin, he is directed* “to take the patin, to view the corporal (or cloth spread under it), to gather up the fragments with the patin, if there be any on it, and with his thumb and forefinger of his right hand, to wipe the patin carefully over the chalice, and also his fingers, lest any fragments remain on them.”

Then for the hosts that are reserved to another time, after the priest has taken them off from the corporal, and put them into the vessel appointed for them, he is directed to mind carefully,† “lest any fragment, the least imaginable, remain upon the corporal; and if there be any, carefully to put them into the chalice.”

When he has taken the cup, with the third particle of the host put into it,‡ “he must purify himself, drinking some wine poured into the cup by the minister that attends; then with wine and water must wash his thumbs and forefingers over the cup, and must wipe them with the purificatory; then he must drink off the oblation (wherein he washed) and wipe his mouth and the chalice with the purificatory.”

Such like also are the cautions given when the people have communicated:§ “If the hosts were laid upon the corporal, the priest wipes it (or sweeps it) with the patin; and if there were any fragments on it, he puts them into the chalice. The minister also holding in his right hand a vessel with wine and water in it, and in his left a little napkin (*mappulam*), does reach the purification (to wash their mouths) to them, a little after the priest, and the little napkin to wipe their mouths.”

The communicants also are directed,|| after receiving, “not presently to go out of the church, or talk, or look about carelessly; nor to spit, nor read aloud prayers out of a book, lest the species of the sacrament should fall out of their mouths.”

* Missal. Rom. ritus celebr. Missam, c. 10. sect. 4.

† Ibid. sect. 15.

‡ Ibid. sect. 5.

§ Ibid. sect. 6.

|| See the Rom. Ritual, de S. Eucharist.

All this is preventing care : but now when accidents do happen, they seem, by their ordering matters, to be in a frightful concern ; and strange things are to be done, if possible, to make an honourable amends.

In the last chapter I have given the reader some instances of those strange things, and will here only add two cases which the Roman Missal provides for.

The first is, “ If a consecrated host, or any part of it, should fall to the ground,” the direction is,* “ that it be reverently taken up, and the place where it fell must be cleansed, and a little scraped away, and such dust or scrapings must be put in the holy repository. If it fell without the corporal upon the napkin (*mappam*) or any ways upon any linen cloth, such napkin, or linen, must be carefully washed, and that water poured out into the holy repository.”

The second case is,† “ When by negligence any thing of the blood is spilt. If it fell upon the earth, or upon a board, it must be licked up with the tongue, and the place scraped sufficiently, and such scraping be burnt, and the ashes laid up in the repository. But if it fell upon the altar-stone, the priest must sup up the drop, and the place be well washed, and that water cast into the repository. If it fell upon the altar-cloths, and the drop sunk as far as the second or third cloth, those cloths must be thrice washed where the drop fell, putting the cup underneath to receive the water, and that water thrown into the foresaid place.” And so it directs to such washing when it falls upon the corporal alone, or the priest’s garments, &c.

I cannot but here annex also the Constitution which the reader may find in the Appendix to the History of the Church of Peterborough, p. 344 (being the first of two there set down), directing what is to be done, when any negligence happens about the Lord’s body and blood, and how to expiate the crime.

“ When there is so great negligence about the Lord’s body and blood, that it happens to fall downward, or into any place where it cannot be fully perceived whither it fell, and whether any of it came to the ground, let the matter be discovered as soon as may be to the abbot or prior, who taking some of the friars with him, let him come to the place where this has happened ; and if the body shall have fallen, or the blood have

* Missal. Rom. de Defect. Missæ, c. 10. sect. 15.

† Ibid. c. 10. sect. 12.

been spilt upon stone, or earth, or wood, or mat, or tapestry, or such like, let the dust of the earth be gathered, part of that stone be scraped, part of that wood, mat, tapestry, or the like, be cut away and cast into the holy repository. But if the place where it fell cannot be plainly discovered, and yet it appear that it fell downwards, in that place, and about the place where it is thought chiefly to have fallen, let there be the like gathering, scraping, cutting away, and casting into the holy repository. Then they by whose negligence this has happened, in the next chapter shall humbly declare their fault, and on their naked bodies receive judgment (*judicium nudi suscipiant*), and penance be enjoined them, either of fasting, or whipping, or rehearsing so many psalms, or such like. Which persons going back to their places from their punishment (*de judicio*), all the priests then present shall rise up, and with all devotion offer themselves to receive punishment. Then he that holds the chapter shall detain seven of them, which he pleases to choose, to receive the judgment (of whipping), and command the rest to go away. The chapter being ended, all prostrating themselves together, shall say seven penitential psalms in the monastery, beginning to sing them as they go out from the chapter. Then shall follow after the psalms, the Pater Noster, with these chapters and collects: ‘Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us. Remember not our iniquities.’ ‘The Lord be with you. Let us pray.’ ‘Hear, O Lord, our prayers, and spare the sins of those that confess themselves to thee; that they whose guilty consciences do accuse them, thy merciful pardon may absolve them.’ Or that other collect, ‘O God, whose property is always to have mercy;’ or such other collect for sins.

“But if the blood fell upon the corporal, or upon any clean cloth, and it be certain whither it fell, let that part of the cloth be washed in some chalice, and the first water it was washed in be drunk off by the friars; the other two washings be cast into the repository. The said fault must be discovered in the first chapter, but they alone, by whose negligence this has happened, shall receive the foresaid discipline, but all the friars shall say over in the monastery all the seven psalms, with the chapters and collects, as was said before. If that day, the short one for the dead shall be read in the chapter, let them first sing the words going into the church: after that the seven psalms, as aforesaid. But if in any other manner a lighter negligence shall happen relating to this sacrament, the

friar, by whose fault it happened, shall be punished with a lighter revenge, at the discretion of the abbot or prior."

Thus I have given a sufficient specimen of the strange caution and fears the Roman Church are under, lest any thing should happen, even to the very least particle or drop of the sacrament, that is dishonourable: and indeed, their caution is very agreeable to their persuasions, as I have before often hinted.

But now if we turn our eyes upon the ancient Church, though we cannot question either their devotion or reverent behaviour in all acts of religious worship, and particularly in this great one; yet there is not to be found any such scrupulosities about minute things; nor such frightful apprehensions in the case of unforeseen accidents, nor such expiations as we have before heard of. They did not forbear to use the common bread (as I said before), though it might be more liable to crumble; they took their share from one common loaf; they received the wine without intinction, or sucking it through pipes, &c. which are all later inventions, since the faith was innovated concerning the eucharist.

But because this is only a negative argument, I will therefore add a positive one, to demonstrate that the ancients were far from these scrupulosities; and also that they came into the Church with transubstantiation, and not before: *viz.* the practice of communicating infants. It is not my business here to prove, that this was the common usage in the Church, from the times of St. Cyprian at least, even to later ages, which has been done effectually by others,* and is acknowledged by our adversaries.

Maldonate† the Jesuit owns, that it continued in the Church for six hundred years.

And Cardinal Perron‡ grants, "that the Primitive Church gave the eucharist to infants as soon as they were baptized:" and that Charles the Great, and Lewis the Pious, both testify that this custom remained in the West in their age, that is, in the ninth century in which they lived. But it went down lower, even to two ages after Charles the Great. For that epistle of P. Paschal II. (which I mentioned in another chapter), given us by Baronius, at the end of his last tome (Ad Ann. 1118, when that Pope died), wherein he forbids intinction of the

* See Mr. Chillingworth's Additional Treatises, in 4to.

† Comm. in Joan. 6. 53.

‡ De loc. August. c. 10.

bread in the wine, and requires that the bread and wine should be taken separately ; gives us also this exception (*præter in parvulis ac omnino infirmis, qui panem absorbere non possunt*), that it “ may be allowed to little children, and those extremely weak, that cannot get down the bread:” which had been a needless provision for them, if infants had not then received the sacrament.

This being then a certain and confessed thing, that infants received the eucharist, I refer it to the conscience of any Romanist, whether he can think the ancients had any of their aforesaid fears, and nice scrupulosities, about the accidents that might happen to the consecrated elements, which in that practice could not be prevented ; it being impossible, where sucking children receive either bread or wine, to hinder the happening of something which the Church of Rome will call highly dishonourable to the sacrament. For to instance in a case which St. Cyprian* mentions, of a Christian little girl, that by her nurse’s wickedness had received polluted bread in an idol’s temple, and afterwards was brought by the mother, knowing nothing, into the church to receive the communion. He relates how the child, when its turn came to receive the cup, turned away its face, shut its lips and refused the cup. But the deacon† persisted, and though it strove against it, did infuse into it of the sacrament of the cup. Then followed sighing and vomiting ; the eucharist could not remain in a body and mouth that had been profaned.

How would a Romanist start at the thoughts of pouring the sacrament, as this deacon did (who sure was a Zuinglian), into the mouth of a struggling child ? But here is no mention of any concern about that, or what happened upon it ; from whence it is natural to conclude, that the ancients in this common case having none of this Church’s scruples and fears, they had none of their faith ; for they must have had more caution, if they had had their opinion about the eucharist.

It is also very observable, to confirm what I have said, that though we can trace the custom of communicating infants, as far as to the age when the transubstantiating doctrine was set on foot, and ready to be formed into an article of faith ; yet

* Lib. de Lapsis.

† Ibid. Perstitit Diaconus, et reluctanti licet de Sacramento Calicis infudit. Tunc sequitur singultus et vomitus ; in corpore atque ore violato Eucharistia permanere non potuit.

here we are at a full stop, and can go no further, for this begat such scruples and fears, that made this quickly give place and vanish, which had so many hazards attending it, and we hear no more of it since that in the Latin Church ; but other great Churches, that have not made this an article of their faith, still retain the old custom (though they err therein) of communicating infants. As the Greek Churches, the Muscovites, Armenians, Habassins, Jacobites, &c. concerning which see *Daillée de Cultib. Latin.* l. 5. c. 4. *Thomas a Jesu de Convers. gentium*, l. 7. c. 5. et c. 18. *Ludolfi Histor. Æthiop.* l. 3. c. 6. sect. 37, 38. *Histor. Jacobitarum, Oxon.* cap. 9. See also Father Simon's Critical History of Religions, concerning the Georgians, cap. 5. p. 67, 71. Nestorians, p. 101. Cophrites, p. 114. Armenians, c. 12. p. 128.

CHAP. XV.

THE FIFTEENTH DIFFERENCE.

The old Prayers in the Canon of the Mass concerning the Sacrament, agree not with the present faith of the Roman Church : and their new Prayers to the Sacrament have no countenance from the Ancient Church.

It is to no purpose to inquire, who was the author of the Canon of the Mass, when Wallafridus Strabo* (who lived in the middle of the ninth century) tells us, "it was a thing to him unknown." Seeing also he adds, "that it had been enlarged, not only once but often ;" it is as vain to ask after its age.

The same also the Abbot Berno† says: "It was not one man that composed the canon all of it, but at several times another interposed and added another thing."

And as they added, so also I doubt not but they altered many things, as we may guess by that remarkable difference, betwixt what the author of the Book of Sacraments, under the

* De Reb. Ecclesiast. cap. 22. Quis primus ordinaverit, nobis ignotum est. Auctum tamen fuisse, non semel sed sæpius ex partibus additis intelligimus.

† Berno Ab. Augiens. de Rebus ad Missam spectant. c. 1. Attamen ipsum Canonem non unus solus composuit totum, sed per tempora aliud aliis interposuit vel adjecit.

name of St. Ambrose,* cites as the prayer in his time, and what we now find in it (speaking of the oblation); it was then, "Make this oblation to us allowable, rational, acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of Christ our Lord:" which now is turned into this prayer, that the "oblation may be made to us the body and blood of thy dear Son our Lord."

But yet to take the canon as now it is, we shall find the prayers of it not capable of being reconciled with the present faith of the Roman Church, and with transubstantiation.

To give some instances.

Thus they pray in the canon, immediately after the words of consecration :

† "Wherefore we, O Lord, thy servants, and yet thy holy people, being mindful, as well of the blessed passion, as also of the resurrection from the dead, and of the glorious ascension into heaven, of the same thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ; do offer to thy most excellent Majesty, out of thy own donations and gifts, a pure sacrifice, an immaculate sacrifice, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation.

‡ "Upon which (gifts) vouchsafe to look with a propitious and serene aspect; and to accept them as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy child, the righteous Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham; and the holy sacrifice, the immaculate hostie, which thy high priest Melchizedek did offer to thee.

§ "Almighty God, we humbly beseech thee, command these

* Lib. 4. de Sacram. cap. 5. Fac nobis hanc Oblationem adscriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, Quod est Figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Quam Oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, adscriptam, &c. facere digneris, Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi tui Filii D. N. J. Christi.

† Can. Miss. Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta ejusdem Christi Filii tui D. N. tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis; Offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, Hostiam puram, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et Calicem salutis perpetuæ.

‡ Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris: et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justî Abel, et sacrificium Patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus Sacerdos tuus Melchisedeck, sanctum Sacrificium, immaculatam Hostiam.

§ Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime Altare tuum, in conspectu Majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione Sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per eundem J. Christum D. N.

things to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel to thy high altar, before thy Majesty, that as many of us, as by his partaking of the altar, have received the most holy body and blood of thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly benediction and grace, by the same Jesus Christ our Lord.

* “Vouchsafe also to bestow on us sinners—some part and society with thy holy Apostles, &c.—into whose society we entreat thee to admit us, not weighing our merit, but bestowing pardon on us. Through Christ our Lord.

† “By whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless, and bestow on us all these good things.”

Immediately after all have communicated, this follows :

‡ “What we have taken with our mouth, O Lord, may we receive with a pure heart; and of a temporal gift, may it be made to us an eternal remedy.”

While the priest is washing his thumbs and forefingers over the cup, with wine and water, and wiping of them, he is bid to say :

§ “Let thy body, O Lord, which I have taken, and thy blood which I have drunk, cleave to my entrails, and grant that the stain of my crimes may not remain in me, whom pure and holy sacraments have refreshed. Who livest,” &c.

All these prayers I have cited, the reader must remember, are after consecration; upon which immediately, according to the present faith of the Roman Church, the substance of bread and wine is destroyed, and nothing but the species and shadows of them remain; and now Christ, instead of them, becomes present there in his body, and soul, and divinity. This is their faith. But it is impossible to reconcile this to those foregoing prayers. For at the beginning of the canon, they pray,|| that “God would accept and bless these donations and

* Nobis quoque peccatoribus—partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis—intra quorum nos consortium, non æstimator meriti sed veniæ, quæsumus, largitor admitte. Per Christum D. N.

† Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis et præstas nobis.

‡ Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, purâ mente capiamus : et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

§ Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi, et sanguis quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis : et præsta ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula, quem pura et sancta refecerunt Sacramenta. Qui vivis, &c.

|| Supplices rogamus ac petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas, hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata.

gifts, these holy undefiled sacrifices;" that is, the oblations of bread and wine, which are no more than so, till the words of consecration.

After this (as you heard) they pray, that "this oblation may be made to us, the body and blood of thy dear Son Jesus Christ." Which do not imply a change of substances; for those words (*fiat nobis*) "be made to us," may very well consist with the oblations remaining in substance what they were before, only begging the communication of the virtue and efficacy of Christ's passion to themselves.

And that this is the sense of the canon, appears by those words after consecration, when they say, "We offer to thy Majesty a pure sacrifice of thy donations and gifts." Which words plainly suppose, that they are in nature what they were, God's creatures still, not the appearance and shadow of them only. But they call them now the "bread of eternal life, and the cup of salvation;" because, after they are blessed and made sacraments, they are not now to be looked upon as bodily food, but as the food of our souls, as representing that body of Christ, and his passion, which is the bread of eternal life.

If they had understood nothing to remain now after consecration, but Christ's natural body, they would not have called this *thy gifts*, in the plural number, but expressed it in the singular, *thy gift*. Neither can they refer to the remaining accidents, because they are no real things, and rather tell us what God has taken away (the whole substance of them), than what he has given.

But then what follows, puts it out of all doubt:* "upon which (still in the plural) look propitiously." If it had been, "look upon us propitiously for the sake of Christ," it had been well enough. Or, to desire of God to look "upon these things propitiously which they offer;" if they mean (as he that made the prayer did), that God would accept this oblation of bread and wine, as he did of Abel and Melchizedek (which latter was indeed bread and wine), this had been very proper. But to make that which we offer to be Christ himself (as they that believe transubstantiation must expound it), and to desire God to look propitiously and benignly upon him, when there can be no fear that he should ever be unacceptable to his Father, nor none can be so foolish as to think that Christ stands in need of our recommendation to God for acceptance, this sense

* *Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris.*

can never be agreeable to the prayer. Therefore the most ancient of all the spurious Liturgies, I mean that attributed to Clemens in his Constitutions,* has given us the true sense of it: "We offer to thee this bread and this cup—and we beseech thee to look favourably upon these gifts set before thee, O God, who standest in need of nothing; and be well pleased with them for the honour of thy Christ," &c.

Would it not run finely, to pray that God would be well pleased with Christ, for the honour of his Christ?

But besides the petition, that God would look propitiously upon them, it follows in the canon, "that God would accept them, as he did the gifts of Abel, and Abraham, and Melchizedek." How unagreeable is this (if Christ himself be understood here), to make the comparison for acceptance, betwixt a lamb and a calf, or bread and wine, and Christ the Son of God, with whom he was always highly pleased!

But then what follows still entangles matters more in the Church of Rome's sense; the prayer, that God "would command these things to be carried by the hands of his holy angel to the high altar above." For how can the body of Christ be carried by angels to heaven, which never left it since his ascension, but is always there? Besides the high altar above, in the sense of the ancients, is Christ himself. And Remigius of Auxerre tells us,† that St. Gregory's opinion of the sacrament was, that "it was snatched into heaven by angels, to be joined to the body of Christ there." But then in the sense of transubstantiation, what absurd stuff is here to pray, that Christ's body may be joined to his own body? So that there can be no sense in the prayer but ours, to understand it of the elements offered devoutly, first at this altar below, which by being blessed become Christ's representative body, and obtain acceptance above through his intercession there. And thus it is fully explained by the author of the Constitutions:‡ "Let us entreat God, through his Christ, for the gift offered to the

* Lib. 8. c. 12. Προσφέρομεν σοι—τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο—καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν σε, ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου ὁ ἀνενδεὴς Θεὸς· καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, &c.

† De Celebrat. Missæ in Bibl. Pat. 2dæ Edit. tom. 6. p. 1164. In Cælo rapitur ministerio Angelorum consociandum corpori Christi.

‡ Lib. 8. c. 13. in initio. Δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ· ὅπως ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς προσδέξῃται αὐτὸ διὰ τὴν μεσιτείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας.

Lord God, that the good God, by the mediation of his Christ, would receive it to his celestial altar, for a sweet-smelling savour.”

To put the matter further out of all doubt, it is observable, that the Liturgies that go under the name of St. James and St. Mark, do both of them mention the acceptance of the gifts of Abel and Abraham, and the admitting them to the celestial altar, before the reciting the words of the institution, or consecration (as the Roman Church calls them, by which they say the change is made). That the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom prays, that “God would receive the oblations proposed to his super-celestial altar,” almost in the same words, both before and after consecration; and that he looked upon them to be the same in substance that they were before, plainly appears by an expression after all, where he prays,* that “the Lord would make an equal division of the proposed gifts to every one for good, according to every man’s particular need.” Which cannot be understood of Christ’s proper body (but of the consecrated bread and wine), which cannot admit of shares or portions, equal or unequal.

Lastly, that St. Basil’s Liturgy also, before the consecration, prays, that “the oblations may be carried unto the super-celestial altar, and be accepted as the gifts of Abel, Noah, Abraham,” &c. And to shew that even after the words of institution he did not believe them to be other things than they were before, he still calls them “the antitypes of the body and blood of Christ;”† and prays, that “the Spirit may come upon us and upon the gifts proposed, to bless and sanctify them, and to make this bread the venerable body of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and this cup his blood, the Spirit working the change.”

And afterwards the priest prays,‡ that “by reason of his sins, he would not divert the grace of his Holy Spirit from the proposed gifts.” A needless fear, if the gifts were already Christ’s body, that the Spirit would be hindered from coming

* Σὺ οὖν δέσποτα τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομά-
λῃσον, κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν.

† Προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ
Χριστοῦ.—ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ
προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ, καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδείξαι
τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα, &c.

‡ Μὴ διὰ τὰς ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας κωλύσης τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου
πνεύματος ἀπὸ τῶν προκείμενων δώρων.

upon that, where all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily, by any man's sins.

The next passage of the canon increases still the difficulty to them that believe transubstantiation, when it says, "Through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom, O Lord, thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, bless and bestow all these good things on us." If there be no good thing remaining in the eucharist besides Christ when these words are said, what sense of truth is there in them? Can Christ, or his body, that already exists, be created anew, and be always created? Can that be always sanctified, that was never common? Or, is he to be raised and quickened anew daily, that once being so raised, can die no more? &c. But that which makes the absurdity of this interpretation the greater, is, that they say, that all this is done to Christ by Christ himself; as if God by Christ did create Christ; and by Christ, did bless, and quicken, and sanctify Christ; which none but he that is forsaken of common sense can affirm.

The old interpreters of the canon made other work of it, and supposed that the creatures offered to God remained creatures still; for thus the forecited Remigius* comments upon them: "God the Father, not only in the beginning created all these things by Christ, but also always creates them, by preparing and repairing them. Good, because all things created by God are very good. He sanctifies those things so created and offered in his sight, when the things that were a simple creature, are made sacraments; he quickens them, so that they become mysteries of life: he blesses them, because he heaps all celestial benediction and grace on them. He bestows them on us, by the same Christ sanctifying them with him, who has given to us so wholesome a repast from his body and blood."

What can be also more plain than the words of the next prayer I mentioned: "That what we have taken with our mouth, may of a temporal gift be made an eternal remedy?"

* In Bibl. Patr. tom. 6. p. 1165. Per Christum Deus Pater hæc omnia non solum in exordio creavit condendo, sed etiam semper creat præparando et reparando: bona, quia omnia à Deo creata valdè bona: creata et suis conspectibus oblata sanctificat, ut quæ erant simplex creatura, fiant Sacramenta: vivificat, ut sint mysteria vitæ: Benedicit, quia omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia accumulât. Præstat nobis, per eundem secum sanctificantem, qui de corpore suo et sanguine suo nobis tam salubrem dedit refectionem.

Did ever any one call Christ a temporal gift, in distinction from an eternal remedy? Is it not certain that the *oblata*, the things offered, are the temporal gift, which by our due receiving them, become eternally beneficial to us?

The last prayer also, which begs, that “the body and blood of Christ may cleave to their bowels or entrails,” cannot be interpreted of his proper and natural body; since, as the Romanists confess, this body can neither touch us, nor be touched by us, as it exists in the sacrament, much less can cleave or stick to our bodies. But the representative body of Christ may; and he that made this petition first, seems to tell us his own sense (though no very wise one), that he would not have this holy food to pass through him, as other meats did (and which many of the ancients thought this also did), but might remain and be consumed (as St. Chrysostom’s phrase is) with the substance of his body.

Thus I think I have demonstrated sufficiently the first thing I asserted at the beginning of this chapter, that the old prayers in the Canon of the Mass, concerning the sacrament, agree not with the present faith of the Roman Church.

I proceed now to shew the other thing, that their new prayers and devotions to the sacrament, have no countenance from the ancient Church.

I told the reader before of their new festival, which the Missal calls the Feast and Solemnity of the Body of Christ. They have suited all things answerably to it; new prayers, new hymns; and their allowed books of devotion have an office of the blessed sacrament, for one day of the week, and a new litany, &c. Which I shall give now some account of, and though all of them are not direct prayers to it, yet they are such strains concerning it, and in such a new style, as has no old example.

*Thus translated in the Manual of Godly Prayers.**

† “O God, which under the admirable sacrament, has left unto us the memory of thy passion; grant, we beseech thee, that we may so worship the sacred mysteries of thy body and blood, that continually we may feel in us the fruit of thy redemption.

“Who livest,” &c.

* Missal. Rom. in Solemn. corporis Christi.

† Oratio. Deus qui nobis sub Sacramento mirabili passionis tuæ memoriam reliquisti: tribue, quæsumus, ita nos corporis et sanguinis tui sacra mysteria venerari, ut redemptionis tuæ fructum in nobis jugiter sentiamus. Qui vivis, &c.

I believe the ancient Church never thus prayed, that by the worship of the sacred mysteries, they might feel the fruit of Christ's redemption; but that they might so receive the sacred mysteries, &c. for they laid the stress upon worthy receiving, as this Church does upon worshipping.

In an Office of the Venerable Sacrament, printed at Colen, 1591, they are still more particular.

* "O God, who wouldst have the glorious mystery of thy body and blood to remain with us; grant, we pray thee, that we may so worship thy corporal presence on earth, that we may be worthy to enjoy the vision of it in heaven.

"Who livest," &c.

Again thus:

† "O God, who in memory of thy passion didst wonderfully change bread and wine into thy body and blood; mercifully grant, that we who believe thy corporal presence in the venerable sacrament, may be brought to the beholding of the appearance of thy highness.

"Who livest," &c.

Rithmus S. Thomæ ad Sacram Eucharistiam; or, a Rithm of Thos. Aquinas to the holy Eucharist:

*In Missal. Rom. ad finem Orat.
post Missam.*

Adoro te devote latens Deitas,	I devoutly adore thee, O latent Deity,
Quæ sub his figuris vere latitas.	Who under these figures truly liest hid.
Tibi se cor meum totum subjecit,	My heart submits itself wholly to thee,
Quia te contemplans totum de-	For when it contemplates thee, it wholly
ficit.	fails me.

Visus, tactus, gustus in te fallitur,	Sight, taste, and touch, is deceived in thee,
Sed auditu solo tuto creditur.	Hearing alone a man may safely trust.

Credo quicquid dixit Dei Filius.	Whatsoe'er the Son of God said, I believe.
Nil hoc verbo veritatis verius.	Nothing is truer than this word of truth.

In cruce latebat sola Deitas,	The Deity only on the cross was hid,
At hic latet simul et humanitas:	Here the humanity also is concealed:
Ambo tamen credens atque con-	But both believing and confessing both,
fitens,	

Peto quod petivit latro poenitens.	I ask what the repenting thief desired.
Plagas, sicut Thomas, non intueor,	I do not see, as Thomas did, thy wounds,

* Ibid. p. 72. ad completor. Deus qui gloriosum corporis et sanguinis tui mysterium nobiscum manere voluisti: præsta, quæsumus, ita nos corporalem præsentiam tuam venerari in terris, ut ejus visione gaudere mereamur in cælis. Qui vivis, &c.

† Ibid. p. 44. ad primam. Deus qui in passionis tuæ memoriam panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem tuum mirabiliter transmutasti; concede propitius, ut qui in venerabili Sacramento tuam præsentiam corporalem credimus, ad contemplantam speciem tuæ celsitudinis perducamur. Qui vivis, &c.

Deum tamen meum te confiteor.	Yet I acknowledge thee to be my God.
Fac me tibi semper magis credere,	O make me still more to believe in thee,
In te spem habere, te diligere.	On thee to place my hope, and theeto love.
O Memoriale Mortis Domini,	O thou memorial of my dying Lord,
Panis vivus, vitam præstans ho-	Thou living bread, and giving life to men,
mini;	
Præsta meæ menti de te vivere,	Grant that my soul on thee may ever live,
Et te illi semper dulce sapere,	And thou to it mayest always sweetly
&c.	taste, &c.

Another sequence of Thos. Aquinas, which begins, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* :

*In Missal. Rom. in festo Corp.
Christi.*

Docti Sacris institutis,	Being taught by holy lessons, we
Panem vinum in salutis	consecrate bread and wine for a
Consecramus hostiam.	saving host.
Dogma datur Christianis,	It is a maxim to Christians, that bread
Quod in carnem transit panis	is changed into flesh, and wine
Et vinum in sanguinem.	into blood.
Quod non capis, quod non vides,	What thou dost not comprehend, or
Animosa firmat fides	see, a strong faith confirms it,
Præter rerum ordinem.	besides the order of nature.
Sub diversis speciebus,	Precious things lie hid under different
Signis tantum et non rebus	species, which are signs only, not
Latent res eximiæ.	things.
Caro cibus, sanguis potus ;	The flesh is meat, and the blood drink,
Manet tamen Christus totus	yet Christ remains whole under
Sub utraque specie.	each kind.
A sumente non concisus,	Uncut, unbroken, undivided, he is
Non confractus, non divisus,	received whole by him that takes
Integer accipitur.	him.
Sumit unus, sumunt mille,	When a thousand take him, one takes
Quantum isti, tantum ille ;	as much as they ; nor is he con-
Nec sumptus consumitur.	sumed in taking.
Sumunt boni, sumunt mali ;	The good and bad both take him,
Sorte tamen inæquali	but their lot is unequal in life and
Vitæ vel interitus.	death.
Mors est malis, vita bonis ;	He is death to the bad, and life to the
Vide paris sumptionis	good ; behold an unlike end of a
Quam sit dispar exitus.	like thing.
Fracto demum Sacramento,	When the sacrament is broken ;
Ne vacilles, sed memento,	Be not staggered, but remember,
Tantum esse sub fragmento,	There is as much in a particle
Quantum toto tegitur.	As the whole covers.
Nulla rei fit scissura,	Here is no division of the thing,
Signi tantum fit fractura ;	Only a breaking of the sign ;
Qua nec status, nec statura	Whereby neither the state nor sta-
Signati minuitur, &c.	ture of the thing signified is di-
	minished, &c.

Another hymn of the same author, which begins, *Pange lingua gloriosi* :

In Breviar. Rom. in festo Corp. Christi.

Thus translated in the Manual of Godly Prayers.

In supremæ nocte cœnæ
Recumbens cum fratribus,
Observata lege plene
Cibis in legalibus ;
Cibum turbæ duodenæ
Se dat suis manibus.
Verbum caro, panem verum
Verbo carnem efficit,
Fitque sanguis Christi merum,
Et si sensus deficit
Ad firmandum cor sincerum
Sola fides sufficit.
Tantum ergo Sacramentum
Veneremur cernui :
Et antiquum documentum
Novo cedat ritui :
Præstet fides supplementum
Sensuum defectui, &c.

At his last supper made by night,
He with his brethren takes his seat,
And having kept the ancient rite
Using the law's prescribed meat ;
His twelve disciples doth invite,
From his own hands himself to eat.
The Word made flesh, to words imparts
Such strength, that bread his flesh is made,
He wine into his blood converts ;
And if our sense here fail and fade,
To satisfy religious hearts,
Faith only can the truth persuade.
Then to this sacrament so high,
Low rev'ence let us now direct ;
Old rites must yield in dignity
To this, with such great graces deck'd :
And faith will all those wants supply,
Wherein the senses feel defect, &c.

In another hymn of Thos. Aquinas, which begins, *Verbum supernè prodiens*, they pray thus to the sacrament :

In Breviar. Rom. in festo Corp. Christi.

O salutaris Hostia,
Quæ Coeli pandis ostium :
Bella premunt hostilia,
Da robur, fer auxilium.

O saving host, that openest heaven's door,
Th' arms of our foes do us enclose :
Thy strength we need ; O help with speed,
We humbly thee implore.

There was published at Paris, with the approbation of three doctors of the faculty there, A.D. 1669, a little book in French, called, *Pratique pour Adorer le tres Saint Sacrament de l'Autel* : or, A Form for the Adoration of the most holy Sacrament of the Altar :

"Praised and adored be the most holy sacrament of the altar."

And then adds :

"Whosoever shall say these holy words, 'Praised be the most holy sacrament of the altar,' shall gain an hundred days of indulgences ; and he that does reverence, hearing them repeated, as much. He that, being confessed and communicated, shall say the abovesaid words, shall gain a plenary indulgence ; and the first five times that he shall say them, after his having been confessed and communicated, he shall deliver five of his friends' souls, whom he pleases, out of purgatory."

Then follows the Form for honouring the holy Sacrament, consisting of two prayers, as follows (which I shall set down in Latin and English, because I find them in the Hours of Sarum, fol. 66, and in the *S. Litanie variæ*, p. 44, printed at Colen, 1643. The first of them has this rubric before it in the Hours of Salisbury: "Our holy father the Pope, John XXII. hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer after the elevation of our Lord Jesu Christ, three thousand days of pardon for deadly sins"):

Anima Christi sanctifica me.	Soul of Christ, sanctify me.
Corpus Christi salva me.	Body of Christ, save me.
Sanguis Christi inebria me.	Blood of Christ, inebriate me.
Aqua lateris Christi lava me.	Water of Christ's side, wash me.
(Hor. Sar. <i>Splendor vultus Christi illumina me.</i>)	
Passio Christi conforta me.	Passion of Christ, comfort me.
(Hor. Sar. <i>Sudor vultus Christi virtuosissime sana me.</i>)	
O bone Jesu exaudi me.	O good Jesus, hear me.
Intra vulnera tua absconde me.	Within thy wounds hide me.
Ne permittas me separari a te.	Suffer me not to be separated from thee.
Ab hoste maligno defende me.	From the malicious enemy defend me.
In hora mortis meæ voca me,	In the hour of my death call me,
Et jube me venire ad te;	And command me to come to thee,
Ut cum sanctis tuis laudem te	That with thy saints I may praise thee,
In sæcula sæculorum.	For evermore. Amen.
Amen.	

At the elevation of the mass :

<i>Hor. sec. us. Sar. Ibid.</i>	<i>Thus translated in the Manual of Godly Prayers.</i>
Ave verum corpus natum	All hail, true Body, born of
De Maria Virgine;	The blessed Virgin Mary;
Vere passum, immolatum	Truly suffered and offered upon the
In cruce pro homine :	Cross for mankind :
Cujus latus perforatum	Whose side, pierced with a spear,
Unda fluxit sanguine.	Yielded water and blood.
Esto nobis prægustatum	Vouchsafe to be received of us
Mortis in examine.	In the hour of death.
O clemens, O pie,	O good, O Jesu, Son of the blessed
O dulcis Fili Mariæ.	Virgin, have mercy on me.

After this, the French form adds what follows :

"These two good prayers were found in the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ in Jerusalem ; and whosoever carries them about him with devotion, and in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall be delivered from the devil, and from sudden death, and shall not die of an ill death. He shall be preserved

from pestilence, and all infectious diseases. No sorcerer, nor sorcery, shall be able to hurt him or her, that has these two good prayers about them. The fire from heaven shall not fall upon the house where these prayers are rehearsed with devotion. A woman with child, saying them devoutly, shall be brought to bed, without any danger of her own, or her child's death. Lightnings and thunders shall not fall upon the houses where these prayers are rehearsed with devotion. Such a one shall not die without confession, and God will give him grace to repent of his sins."

Now I will add a specimen of Litanies of the Sacrament :

Litanie de Sacramento.

S. Litanie

varie, p. 30.

— Panis vivus qui de Cœlo
descendisti . . .
Deus absconditus et Salvator
Frumentum electorum . . .
Vinum germinans virgines . . .
Panis pinguis et deliciæ regum . . .

Juge sacrificium . . .
Oblatio munda . . .
Agnus absque macula . . .

Mensa purissima . . .
Angelorum esca . . .
Manna absconditum . . .
Memoria mirabilium Dei . . .

Panis supersubstantialis . . .
Verbum caro factum habitans
in nobis . . .
Hostia sancta . . .
Calix benedictionis . . .
Mysterium fidei . . .
Præcelsum et venerabile sacra-
mentum . . .
Sacrificium omnium sanctissi-
mum . . .
Vere propitiatorium pro vivis et
defunctis . . .
Cœleste antidotum, quo a peccatis
præservamur . . .
Stupendum supra omnia mi-
raculum . . .
Sacratissima Dominicæ passionis
commemoratio . . .

Miserere nobis.

*The Litany of the Sacrament in
the Manual aforesaid.*

— Living bread, that didst
descend from heaven . . .
God hidden, and my Saviour
Bread-corn of the elect . . .
Wine budding forth virgins . . .
Fat bread, and the delight of
kings . . .
Continual sacrifice . . .
Pure oblation . . .
Lamb without spot . . .
(*Manual adds*) Table of propo-
sition . . .
Most pure table . . .
Food of Angels . . .
Hidden manna . . .
Memorial of God's wonderful
works . . .
Supersubstantial bread . . .
Word made flesh and dwelling
in us . . .
Holy host . . .
Chalice of benediction . . .
Mystery of faith . . .
Most high and venerable sacra-
ment . . .
Sacrifice of all other most holy

Truly propitiatory for the quick
and dead . . .
Heavenly antidote, whereby we
are preserved from sin . . .
Miracle above all other astonish-
ing . . .
Most sacred commemoration of
our Lord's death . . .

Have mercy on us.

Donum transcendens omnem plenitudinem	Gift surpassing all fulness	} <i>Have mercy on us.</i>
Memoriale præcipuum divini amoris	Chief memorial of divine love	
Divinæ affluentia largitatis	Abundance of divine bounty	
Sacrosanctum et augustissimum mysterium	Holy and most majestic mystery	
Pharmacum immortalitatis	Medicine of immortality	
Tremendum ac vivificum sacramentum	Dreadful and life-giving sacrament	
Panis omnipotentia verbi caro factus	Bread by the Word's omnipotence made flesh	
Incruentum Sacrificium	Unbloody sacrifice	
Cibus et conviva	Meat and guest (<i>Manual omits</i>)	
Dulcissimum convivium, cui assistant Angeli ministrantes	Most sweet banquet, whereat the ministering angels attend	
Sacramentum pietatis	Sacrament of piety	
Vinculum charitatis	Bond of charity	
Offerens et oblatio	Offerer and oblation	
Spiritualis dulcedo in proprio fonte degustata	Spiritual sweetness tasted in its proper fountain	
Refectio animarum sanctarum	Refection of holy souls	
Viaticum in Domino morientium	Viaticum of those who die in our Lord	
Pignus futuræ gloriæ, &c.	Pledge of future glory, &c.	

Miserere nobis.

This is enough to shew into what strains of devotion the present Roman Church now runs, since transubstantiation is an article of its faith. I deny not that these prayers are very natural if that doctrine were true; and I would fain have a good reason assigned, why, if this doctrine was believed of old, this was not the way of the primitive devotion. If they affirm that it was, it lies upon them to produce the evidence. But then let me tell them before-hand, that we will not be shammed off with a rhetorical prosopopœia of an author, under the name of St. Denis the Areopagite (which has been the only thing I have seen alleged, and as often answered), whose authority neither cannot be considerable to us, who remember that he was first produced and shewn to the world by heretics, and rejected by the orthodox.

CHAP. XVI.

THE SIXTEENTH DIFFERENCE.

Our ancient Roman Saxon Church differed from the present Roman Church, in the article of Transubstantiation and Corporal Presence.

THIS is the last difference I shall mention, though not the least; but a very material confirmation of what I have been all along proving, that there is no consent of the ancient Church with the present Roman Church, in their faith and opinions about the eucharist; when we shall find, that even our own old English Church, that had received most of its instructions in Christianity from the Roman, and in many other things agreed with what it now professes, yet in this widely differed from it.

This plainly argues one of these two things, either that the then Roman Church had not the opinions of the present Church in these matters, and so did not propagate them to us (which cannot be said, when we remember the busy disputes about these matters in the ninth century, though they were not yet come to a determination); or else, that when the Roman Church warped, and generally espoused a new doctrine which the ancient Fathers were strangers to, we still kept our ground, and did not suffer ourselves to be perverted, but held to the ancient belief.

This is the truth of our case, as appears by a noble remain of an Easter Sermon (about 700 years old) in the Saxon tongue, among other Catholic Homilies that were to be read yearly in the Church. It was produced in the last age in the Saxon, with a translation in our English tongue (printed by John Day); it was since put, with the same translation, by Mr. Fox, into his Martyrology,* and has been set forth with a Latin translation by the learned Abr. Whelock, in his Saxon edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, p. 462, printed at Cambridge, 1644, out of which I shall transcribe as much as will serve to prove our assertion, softening the harshness of the phrases of the last age, and expressing the sense in words more easily understood.

* Vol. 2. p. 380. last edition.

The Easter Sermon begins thus :

“Men beloved, you have been often discoursed to, concerning our Saviour’s resurrection, how he, after his passion on this day, rose powerfully from the dead. Now we shall, by God’s grace, explain something to you about the holy eucharist, which this day we are bound to frequent, and instruct your understanding about this mystery, both according to the Old and New Testament, that no doubting may disturb you concerning this life-giving banquet.”

The Sermon goes on with an account of the Jewish pass-over, and the application of those things to the eucharist, which I omit :

“—* Christ, before his suffering, consecrated bread, and distributed it to his disciples, saying thus, Eat this bread, it is my body ; and Do this in remembrance of me. Also he consecrated wine in a cup, and said, Drink ye all of this ; this is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins. The Apostles did as Christ commanded ; they consecrated bread and wine for the eucharist. And to his memory also afterward every one of their successors, and all Christ’s priests, according to Christ’s command, by the Apostolical benediction, did consecrate bread and wine in his name.† Now men have often disputed, and do it still, how that bread which is prepared of corn, and is baked by that heat of fire, can be changed into Christ’s body ; and how that wine which is pressed out of many grapes, by any blessing of it, can be changed into our Lord’s blood ? Now to such men, I answer, that some things are spoken of Christ by signification, some others by a known thing. It is a true thing, and known, that Christ was born of a virgin, and voluntarily suffered death, and was buried, and this day rose from the dead. He is called bread, and a lamb, and a lion, and otherwise, by signification. He is called bread, because he is our life, and the life of angels. He is called a lamb, for his innocency. A lion, for his strength, whereby he overcame the strong devil. Yet notwithstanding, according to true nature, Christ is neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Wherefore then is that holy eucharist called Christ’s body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called ? Truly the bread and wine, which are consecrated by the mass of the priests, shew one thing outwardly to men’s senses, and nother thing they declare inwardly to believing minds. Out-

* P. 469.

† P. 470.

wardly, bread and wine are seen both in appearance, and in taste; yet they are truly after consecration Christ's body and blood, by a spiritual sacrament. An heathen child is baptized, yet he altereth not his outward shape, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font full of sin through Adam's disobedience, but he is washed from all his sins inwardly, though he has not changed his outward shape. So also that holy font-water, which is called the well-spring of life, is like in nature (in specie) to other waters, and is subject to corruption, but the power of the Holy Ghost, by the priest's blessing, comes upon that corruptible water; and after that, it can wash both body and soul from all sins, by spiritual power.* We see now in this one creature two things: that whereby, according to true nature, it is corruptible water, and that whereby, according to the spiritual mystery, it has a saving power. So also, if we look upon that holy eucharist according to a corporeal sense, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and changeable; but if we own a spiritual power there, then we understand that life is in it, and that it confers immortality on those that taste it by faith. There is a great difference betwixt the invisible virtue (and power) of this holy eucharist, and the visible appearance of its proper nature. By its nature it is corruptible bread, and corruptible wine; and by the virtue of the divine word, it is truly the body and blood of Christ; yet not corporally so, but spiritually. There is much difference betwixt that body which Christ suffered in, and that body which is consecrated for the eucharist. The body that Christ suffered in was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and bones, with skin and nerves; animated by a rational spirit in human members; but his spiritual body, which we call the eucharist, is collected from many grains of corn, without blood and bone, without member or soul; wherefore there is nothing in it to be understood corporeally, but all is to be understood spiritually. Whatsoever is in that eucharist which restores life to us, this is from spiritual virtue, and from invisible operation. Therefore that holy eucharist is called a sacrament, because one thing is there seen, and another understood; that which is there seen has a bodily nature, that which we understand in it has a spiritual virtue.† The body of Christ that suffered death and rose from the dead, henceforth dies no more, but is eternal and impassible. That eucha-

* P. 471.

† P. 472.

rist is temporary, not eternal ; it is corruptible, and capable of division into minute parts ; it is chewed with the teeth, and sent into the draught ; yet it will be true, that according to spiritual virtue it is whole in every part : many receive that holy body, yet according to the spiritual mystery, it will be whole in every part. Though some receive a lesser part of it, yet there will not be more virtue in the greater part than in the lesser, because it will be whole in all men according to the invisible virtue. This sacrament is a pledge, and a type ; the body of Christ is the truth : we keep this pledge sacramentally, till we come to the truth itself ; and then is the pledge at an end. It is indeed, as we said before, Christ's body and his blood, but not corporally, but spiritually. Do not dispute how this can be effected, but believe it firmly, that so it is."

Here follow some idle visions, which that credulous age were fond of, but are nothing to the purpose, and therefore I omit them :

"—Paul the Apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, writing thus in his epistle to the faithful :* All our forefathers were baptized in the cloud and in the sea ; and all ate the same spiritual meat, and all drank the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual rock, and that rock was Christ. That rock, from whence the water then flowed, was not Christ in a corporal sense, but it signified Christ, who declared thus to the faithful, Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his belly shall flow living water. This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they that believed on him, should receive. The Apostle Paul said, That the people of Israel ate the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink, because the heavenly food that fed them for forty years, and that water that flowed from the rock, signified Christ's body and blood, which are now daily offered in the Church of God. It was the same which we offer to-day, not corporally, but spiritually. We told you before, that Christ consecrated bread and wine for the eucharist before his passion, and said, This is my body, and my blood ; he had not yet suffered, and yet he changed, by his invisible power, that bread into his body, and that wine into his blood ; as he did before in the wilderness, before he was born man, when he turned the heavenly food into his flesh, and that water flowing from the rock into his blood.† Many persons ate of the heavenly food

* P. 473.

† P. 474.

in the desert, and drank of the spiritual drink, and yet, as Christ said, are dead. Christ meant not that death which no man can avoid, but he understood eternal death, which several of that people, for their unbelief, had deserved. Moses and Aaron, and several others of the people that pleased God, ate that heavenly bread, and did not die that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly food was visible and corruptible ; but they understood that visible thing spiritually, and they tasted it spiritually. Jesus said, Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life. He did not command them to eat that body which he had assumed, nor to drink that blood which he shed for us ; but by that speech he meant the holy eucharist, which is spiritually his body and his blood ; and whosoever tasteth this, with a believing heart, shall have that eternal life. Under the old law, the faithful offered divers sacrifices to God, which had a future signification of the body of Christ, which he hath offered in sacrifice to his heavenly Father for our sins. This eucharist which is now consecrated at God's altar is a commemoration of the body of Christ, which he offered for us, and of his blood which he shed for us : as he himself commanded, Do this in remembrance of me. Christ once suffered by himself ; but yet his passion by the sacrament of this holy eucharist, is daily renewed at the holy mass. Wherefore the holy mass is profitable very much both for the living, and also for the dead, as it hath been often declared," &c.

The rest of the sermon being of a moral and allegorical nature, I omit.

Besides this sermon in public, we have also two other remains of Ælfric the abbot, in the Saxon tongue,* which speak the very same sense, and deserve to be inserted as far as they concern this argument of the eucharist, and the change made in it.

The first is an epistle to Wulffine, bishop of Shyrburn, in which is this passage :

"— The eucharist is not the body of Christ corporally, but spiritually ; not the body in which he suffered, but that body when he consecrated bread and wine for the eucharist, the night before his passion, and said of the bread he blessed, This is my body ; and again of the wine he blessed, This is my

* Published at the end of the foresaid Sermon, printed by John Day. Also in the Notes on Bede's Eccl. Hist. p. 332, 333, 334.

blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Now then understand, that the Lord, who was able to change that bread before his passion into his body, and that wine into his blood, spiritually; that the same (Lord) by the hands of the priests, daily consecrates bread and wine for his spiritual body, and for his spiritual blood."

The second, an epistle of Ælfric to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, in which, among other things (against too long reserving the eucharist), he says thus:

"*Christ himself consecrated the eucharist before his passion; he blessed bread, and brake it, saying thus to his Apostles, Eat this bread, it is my body; and again he blessed the cup, filled with wine, and spake thus to them, Drink ye all of this, it is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Our Lord, who consecrated the eucharist before his passion, and said, that bread was his body, and wine truly his blood, he also daily consecrates, by the priests' hands, bread for his body, and wine for his blood, in a spiritual mystery, as we read in books. [Yet notwithstanding that lively bread is not the same body in which Christ suffered, nor that holy wine the blood of our Saviour (which was shed for us) in bodily thing (or sense, *in re corporali*), but in a spiritual sense (*in ratione spiritali*). That bread indeed was his body, and also that wine his blood, just as that heavenly bread which we call manna (which fed God's people for forty years), *viz.* was his body, and that clear water was his blood that then flowed from the rock in the wilderness.] As Paul writes in his epistle, They all ate the same spiritual meat, and drank the same spiritual drink, &c. The Apostle that says what you have heard, They all ate, &c. he does not say, corporally, but spiritually. Christ was not as yet born, nor his blood shed; then it was the people of Israel did eat that spiritual meat, and drank of that rock; neither was that rock Christ corporeally, though he spake so. The sacraments of the old law were the same, and did spiritually signify that sacrament (or eucharist) of our Saviour's body, which we now consecrate."

This last epistle Ælfric wrote first in the Latin tongue to Wulfstane, containing, though not word for word, yet the whole sense of the English epistle; and that paragraph of it which I have enclosed between two brackets, was looked upon

* Vid. p. 334. Hist. Eccles. Sæx. Lat. Bedæ.

as so disagreeable to the present faith of the Roman Church, that some had rased them out of the Worcester book ; but the same Latin epistle being found in Exeter church, it was restored.

I was once about to have added some citations here out of Bertram's book (*de corpore et sanguine Domini*), out of which many passages in the Saxon sermon foregoing were taken. But they are so many that I must have transcribed, and the book itself is so small, and so well worth the reading, especially with the late translation of it into English, and a learned historical dissertation before it, giving a large account of the difference betwixt his opinion and that of transubstantiation (printed A.D. 1686), that I shall rather refer the reader to it, where he may abundantly satisfy himself.

Instead of it, I will only add one testimony more out of Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, in an epistle to Heribaldus :* which we are beholden to the learned Baluzius for giving it us entire (*in Appendice ad Reginonem*, p. 516), a passage having been rased out of the manuscript, out of which it was first published. Thus he says :

†“As for the question you put, whether the eucharist, after it is consumed and sent into the draught as other meats are, does return again into its former nature, which it had before it was consecrated on the altar ; this question is superfluous, when our Saviour himself has said in the Gospel, Every thing that entereth into the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught. The sacrament of the body and blood is made up of things visible and corporeal, but effects the invisible sanctification both of body and soul. And what reason is there,

* Epist. ad Herib. c. 33. de Eucharist.

† Quod autem interrogastis, utrum Eucharistia postquam consumitur et in secessum emittitur, more aliorum ciborum, iterum redeat in naturam pristinam quam habuerat, antequam in altari consecraretur, superflua est hujusmodi Quæstio, cum ipse Salvator dixerit in Evangelio, Omne quod intrat in os, in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittitur. Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis ex rebus visibilibus et corporalibus conficitur, sed invisibilem tam corporis quam animæ efficit sanctificationem. Quæ est enim ratio, ut hoc quod stomacho digeritur, et in secessum emittitur, iterum in statum pristinum redeat, cum nullus hoc unquam fieri asseruerit ? Nam quidam nuper de ipso Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non rite sentientes dixerunt, hoc ipsum corpus et sanguinem Domini quod de Maria Virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est in Cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro, (Idem esse quod sumitur de altari) cui errori quantum potuimus, ad Egilonem Abbatem scribentes de corpore ipso quid vere credendum sit, aperuimus.

that what is digested in the stomach, and sent into the draught, should return into its pristine state, seeing none has ever asserted that this was done? Some indeed of late, not thinking rightly of the sacrament of our Lord's body and blood, have said (which are the very words of Paschasius, whom he opposes), that the very body and blood of our Lord which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which our Lord suffered on the cross, and rose again out of the grave [is the same that is taken from the altar]; which error we have opposed as we are able, writing to the Abbot Egilo, and declared what ought truly to be believed concerning the body itself."

That which he calls here an error, is an article now of the Romish faith, which some zealous monk meeting withal, and not enduring it should be condemned as an error, that the same body which was born of the Virgin, &c., is the same that we receive at the altar, scraped out those words which I have enclosed between the brackets; and we may securely trust our adversaries in this matter, who have skill enough to know what assertions make for them, and what against them.

CHAP. XVII.

THE CONCLUSION.

That the doctrine of Transubstantiation has given a new occasion to the enemies of the Christian religion to blaspheme. It is so great a stumbling-block to the Jews, that their conversion is hopeless, whilst this is believed by them to be the common faith of Christians. That though the Church of Rome will not hearken to us, yet they may be provoked to emulation by the Jews themselves, who have given a better account of Christ's words of institution, and more agreeable to the Fathers, than this Church has, and raised unanswerable objections against its doctrine.

HAVING considered, in the foregoing chapters, the sense of the ancient Church about matters relating to the eucharist and transubstantiation, from their own writings; and found that their assertions are inconsistent with the belief of the present Roman Church; and that their practices are not to be

reconciled thereunto: having also made an inquiry into the ancient forms of devotion, relating to the eucharist, remaining still in this Church, and found them to speak a language, which has a sense agreeing indeed with that of the ancients, but no sense at all when the doctrine of transubstantiation is supposed, and those prayers to be interpreted by it, &c.

I shall now, for a conclusion, take a view also of the principal enemies of the Christian faith; which will afford a convincing evidence, that the Roman doctrine is novel, and a stranger to the ancient Christians.

It is sufficiently known, that the adversaries of Christianity took all the occasions possible, and whatsoever gave them any colour to reproach the faith and worship of Christians, and to make their names odious. Nothing that looked strange and absurd in either escaped being taken notice of by such as Celsus and Porphyry, Lucian and Julian, among the heathens, and such as Trypho among the Jews. They curiously examined and surveyed what they taught and practised, and whatsoever they thought to be foolish and incredible, they, with all their wit and cunning, endeavoured to expose it. So they did with the doctrines of the Trinity, the eternal generation of the Son of God, his incarnation, his crucifixion especially, and our resurrection. Neither were they less prying into the Christian mysteries and worship, which they could not be ignorant of, there being so many deserters and apostates in those times of persecution, who were well acquainted with them; and by threatenings and fear of torment, if there were any things secret, were likely to betray them. Not to insist upon this, that the great traducer of Christians, I mean Julian, was himself once initiated in their mysteries, and so could not be ignorant of what any of them were; and has in particular laughed at their baptism, that Christians should fancy a purgation thereby from great crimes.

Yet, after all this, they took no occasion from the eucharist to traduce them; though, if Christians then had given that adoration to it that is now paid in the Roman Church, and if they had declared, either for a corporal presence, or an oral manducation of him that was their God, they had the fruit-fullest subject in the world given them, both to turn off all the objections of the Christians against themselves, for worshipping senseless and inanimate things; and also, to lay the most plausible charge of folly and madness against them, which their great orator had pronounced, before Christianity

was a religion in the world: "Can any man be supposed so mad, to believe that to be a God which he eats?"*

A learned Romanist† affirms of the ancient Christians, that "they did testify their eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of their Lord God in their discourses of the eucharist." Which is true indeed, taking this eating and drinking in the sacramental sense we do; and so their adversaries must needs understand their meaning. Otherwise (without a miracle to hinder it), what he acknowledges in the same place could never be true,‡ "that among so many reproaches of those that accused Christians of impiety, for not having altars nor sacrifices, and among so many false brethren that were turncoats, yet there were none that made this an accusation against them, that they ate the flesh of their God and Lord, and drank his blood."

We have this ingenuous confession of Bellarmine himself,§ "that we might be accounted truly fools, if without the word of God, we believed the true flesh of Christ to be eaten with the mouth of our bodies." But whether with or without the word of God they believed such a corporal eating of Christ's flesh, had been all one to the heathens, if they knew that this was their belief, and it would rather have strengthened their reproach, if they knew that they were bound thus to believe. But then what he adds is very remarkable,|| that "infidels always counted this a most foolish paradox, as appears from Averroes and others." I believe indeed, that they must always count this a foolish paradox, which Averroes charged Christians withal, in that known saying of his,¶ that he "found no sect

* Cicero, l. 3. de Nat. Deorum. Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud quo vescatur, Deum credat esse?

† Rigaltius Notis ad Tertul. lib. 2. c. 5. ad Uxorem. Se id facere in Eucharisticis suis testarentur.

‡ Ibid. Observandum vero, inter tot probra et convitia accusantium Christianos impietatis, eo quod neque aras haberent neque sacrificarent, interque tot fratrum perfidorum transfugia, non exitisse qui Christianos criminarentur, quod Dei ac Domini sui carnes ederent, sanguinem potarent.

§ De Eucharist. l. 2. c. 12. Vere stulti haberi possemus, si absque Verbo Dei crederemus veram Christi carnem ore corporali manducari.

|| Nam id semper infideles stultissimum paradoxum aestimarunt, ut notum est de Averroes et aliis.

¶ Se Sectam Christiana deteriore aut ineptiorem nullam reperire, quam qui sequuntur, ii quem colunt Deum dentibus ipsi suis discerpunt ac devorant.

worse, or more foolish, than the Christians, who tear with their teeth, and devour that God whom they worship." But why was not this cast always in the teeth of Christians, if this was always their professed doctrine? Was Celsus, or Julian, or Lucian, less sagacious, or less malicious, than Averroes, that not a word of this foolish paradox was ever so much as hinted by them to the reproach of Christians then?

But the Cardinal has instanced the most unluckily in the world, in naming only Averroes for this calumny, when all acknowledge that this philosopher, and Pope Innocent III. (who established transubstantiation) lived in the same age; and some very learned men prove, from the Arabian accounts, that those two were contemporaries. And as for his (*et aliis*) *others*, I should be glad to see any named, that urged what Averroes did to the Christians' reproach before the days of Berengarius.

After that indeed, we can meet with a follower of Mahomet, who (as a learned man gives us his words) says thus,* "Those words of Christ, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, he is in me, and I in him, &c. Christians understand them literally, and so Christians are more cruel against Christ, than Jews; for they left Christ when they had slain him, but these eat his flesh, and drink his blood, which, as experience testifies, is more savage."

After the Roman Church's declaring for transubstantiation, (though not before) we meet with the oppositions of Jews, testifying their abhorrency of a doctrine which talks of a sacrifice, and "makes bread to be the body of their God,"† (which he means in the sense of transubstantiation, by being turned into it, and clothed with its accidents), "whose body that is in heaven comes upon the altar; and upon the pronouncing these words, For this is my body, by the priest, whether good or

* Hottinger in *Eucharistia Defensa*, sect. 14. p. 220. Ahmed ben Edris ita scribit, verba autem Isa (sic Arabes Christum vocant) super quo pax, Qui edit carnem meam et bibit sanguinem, &c. Christiani literaliter intelligunt. Atque sic Christiani atrociores sunt in Christum quam Judæi. Illi enim Christum occisum reliquerunt; hi carnem ejus edunt et sanguinem bibunt, quod, ipsa teste experientia, truculentius est.

† Ibid. Joseph. Albo de Ikkarim, lib. 3. cap. 25. Nam panis est corpus Dei ipsorum. Aiunt enim corpus Jesu quod est in Coelis, venire in Altare et vestiri pane et vino, post pronunciata verba, Hoc enim est Corpus meum, a sacrificulo, qualiscunque ille demum fuerit, sive pius sive impius, et omnia fieri Corpus unum cum corpore Messiae, &c. — Repugnant hic omnia Intelligibilibus primis, et ipsis etiam sensibus.

wicked is all one, all things are made one body with the body of the Messias, &c.—Which things are all repugnant to the first principles of reason, and to our very senses themselves.” As he afterwards shews in several instances.

And now we are told, that it is a common bye-word to reproach a Christian by among the Turks, to call him *Mange Dieu*.

All these took their rise plainly from transubstantiation, and not from the faith of the ancient Church. For if one of it* may speak for the rest, the old Christians agreed in the abhorrence, and called it, “the extremest stupidity to worship that which is eaten.”

And again:† “How can any one of a sound mind call that a god, which being offered to the true God, is afterwards eaten by him?”

But now, after all, the saddest consideration is, that the prejudices are so great against this (and another twin-doctrine of the Roman Church, about the worship of images), that a perpetual stumbling-block seems to be laid before the Jews; and it may be looked upon as the τὸ κατέχον, that which will always hinder and obstruct their conversion, whilst it is believed by them to be the common sense and faith of Christians; and they have too great a temptation to believe so, when they have seen this Church, which has got the most worldly power into its hands, persecuting not only Jews, but heretics (as they call all other Christians that deny this doctrine), to the death for gainsaying it; and when that work will cease, God only knows. The Jews can never be supposed to get over this hard chapter, whilst they who call themselves the only catholic Christians, hold such things about the body of Christ (and remember that it is about a body), which as the forenamed Jos. Albo speaks,‡ “No man’s mind can conceive, nor tongue utter, nor any ear can hear.” He means, by reason of their absurdity.

So that the case of the Jews, and their conversion, seems to be hopeless and desperate, according to all human guesses, till there be a change wrought (not in the substance of the

* Theodoret. Interrog. 55. in Genes. Ἀβελτερίας ἐσχάτης προσκυνεῖν τὸ ἐσθιόμενον.

† Id. qu. 11. in Levit. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις σωφρονῶν—ὀνομάσῃ Θεὸν—τὸ τῷ ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ προσφερόμενον, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐσθιόμενον;

‡ Ibid. Ista talia sunt quæ mens non potest concipere, neque os eloqui, neque auris audire.

bread and wine this Church dreams of, but) in the Romanists' belief.

And though this also may seem, upon many accounts, to be as hopeless as the former, yet, for a conclusion, I will try, whether, as once the great Apostle thought it a wise method (Rom. xi. 14), by the example of the Gentiles, παραζηλῶσαι, to provoke the Jews to emulation; so it may not be as proper to propose the example of the Jews themselves to the Romanists, to provoke their emulation, whom they may see better explaining (as blind as they are) Christ's words of institution; and agreeing better with the ancient Church in the matter of the eucharist, than themselves; and raising such arguments and objections against the transubstantiating doctrine, as can never, to any purpose, be answered.

The instances of this are very remarkable, in a book called *Fortalitium Fidei contra Judæos*, &c. printed A.D. 1494, but written, as the author himself tells us (fol. 61), in the year 1458, where he gives us the arguments of a Jew against transubstantiation; some of which I shall out of him faithfully translate.

The Jew* begins with Christ's words of institution, and shews, that they cannot be interpreted otherwise than figuratively and significatively, as the Fathers, we have heard, have asserted.

1. "*Vos Christiani dicitis*, &c. Ye Christians say in that sacrament (of the eucharist) there is really the body and blood of Christ. This is impossible. Because when your Christ, shewing the bread, said, This is my body, he spake significatively, and not really; as if he had said, This is the sign or figure of my body. After which way of speaking, Paul said, 1 Cor. x, the Rock was Christ; that is, a figure of Christ. And it appears evidently that this was the intention of your Christ, because when he had discoursed about the eating his body, and drinking his blood, to lay the offence that rose upon it among the disciples, he says, as it were expounding himself, The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life; denoting, that what he had said, was to be understood, not according to the letter, but according to the spiritual sense. And when Christ said, This is my body, holding bread in his hands, he meant, that that bread was his body (*in potentia propinqua*) in a near possibility, viz. after he had eaten it, for

* Vid. l. 3. Consid. 6. fol. 130. Impossibil. 10.

then it would be turned into his body, or into his flesh ; and so likewise the wine. And after this manner we Jews do, on the day of unleavened bread ; for we take unleavened bread in memory of that time, when our fathers were brought out of the land of Egypt, and were not permitted to stay so long there, as whilst the bread might be leavened, that was the bread of the passover ; and we say, ‘This is the bread which our fathers ate,’ though that be not present, since it is past and gone ; and so this unleavened bread minds us of the bread of Egypt, and this bread is not that : so is that bread of which the sacrifice of the altar is made. It is sufficient for Christians to say, that it is in memory of that bread of Christ, though this bread be not that. And because it was impossible that one bit of his flesh should be preserved in memory of him, he commanded, that that bread should be made, and that wine, which was his flesh and blood in the next remove, to come into act ; as we Jews do (and Christ borrowed his phrases and the elements from their supper) at the passover with the unleavened bread, as we said before. When therefore your Christ at the table took bread, and the cup, and gave them to his disciples, he did not bid them believe that the bread and wine were turned into his body and blood, but that as often as they did that, they should do it in remembrance of him, *viz.* in memory of that past bread ; and if you Christians did understand it so, no impossibility would follow ; but to say the contrary, as you assert, is to say an impossible thing, and against the intention of your Christ, as we have shewed.”

This is what the Jew urges with great reason. But the Catholic author makes a poor answer to it, and has nothing to say, in effect, but this, “That the tradition of the catholic Church concerning this sacrament is true, *viz.* that in this sacrament there is really, and not by way of signification, the true body and true blood of Christ.”

2. Whereas the Roman Church flies to miracles in this case of transubstantiation, the Jew encounters that next of all, thus :

*“ You Christians say, that the body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar by a miracle ; this I prove to be impossible. Because if there were any miracle in the case, it would appear to the eye ; as when Moses turned the rod into a serpent ; that was performed evidently to the eye, though men knew not how it was done. So also in the case of the ark of

* Ibid. 11. Impossib. p. 131.

the covenant of old, mighty miracles were wrought ; and those not only sensible miracles, but also public, and apparent to all the people (insomuch that infidels were terrified at the very report of such miracles) ; men seeing before their eyes the Divine power brightly shining in reverence of the ark of his covenant, as appears in his dividing the waters of Jordan, while the people of Israel passed over dry shod, the waters on one side swelling like a mountain, and on the other flowing down as far as the Dead Sea, till the priests with the ark went over the channel of Jordan, and then Jordan returned to its wonted course. But the kings of the Amorites and Canaanites hearing of so great and public a miracle, were so confounded with the terror of God, that no spirit remained in them (Josh. iv. and v.) ; and so I might instance in many other evident miracles, which to avoid tediousness, I omit. And yet in that ark, neither God nor Christ was really contained, but only the tables of stone containing the precepts of the Decalogue, and the pot of manna, &c. (Exod. xvi.) and the rod of Aaron that flourished in the house of Levi. (Numb. xvii.) If therefore by the ark (that carried only the foresaid bodies that were inanimate, how sacred soever they were), God wrought in honour of it such evident far-spreading and public miracles, how much more powerfully should they have been wrought by him, if it were true, that in your sacrament of the altar the true God or Christ were really contained, whom you affirm that he ought to be worshipped and venerated infinitely above all. Since therefore no such thing does appear there to the eye, it follows that it is impossible for any miracle to be done there, since this is against the nature of a miracle."

The answer to this is so weak, and so the rest, are generally such an unintelligible school-jargon, that I shall not tire the reader with them. But shall go on with the Jew.

3. * "You Christians do assert, that the true body of Christ begins to be on the altar. This seems to be impossible : for a thing begins to be where it was not before, two ways. Either by local motion, or by the conversion of another thing into it ; as appears in fire, which begins to be any where, either because it is kindled there anew, or is brought thither *de novo*.

"But it is manifest, that the true body of Christ was not always on the altar ; because the Christians assert, that Christ ascended in his body to heaven. It seems also impossible to

* Ibid. 12. Impossib. fol. 132.

be said, that anything here is converted anew into Christ's body; because nothing seems convertible into that which existed before; since that into which another thing is turned, by such a change, begins to exist. Now it is manifest, that Christ's body did pre-exist, seeing it was conceived in the womb of Mary. It seems therefore impossible, that it should begin to be on the altar anew, by the conversion of another thing into it.

"In like manner, neither by a change of place, because every thing that is locally moved, does so begin to be in one place, that it ceases to be in that other in which it was before. We must therefore say, that when Christ begins to be on this altar on which the sacrament is performed, he ceases to be in heaven, whither he ascended. It is also plain, that this sacrament is in like manner celebrated on divers altars. Therefore it is impossible that the body of Christ should begin to be there by a local motion."

4. * "You Christians affirm, that your Christ is whole in the sacrament, under the species of bread and wine. This I prove thus to be impossible. Because never are the parts of any body contained in divers places, the body itself remaining whole. But now it is manifest, that in this sacrament the bread and wine are asunder in separate places. If therefore the flesh of Christ be under the species of bread, and his blood under the species of wine, it seems to follow, that Christ does not remain whole, but that always when this sacrament is celebrated, his blood is separated from his body."

5. † "You Christians say, that in that little host, the body of Christ is contained. This I prove to be impossible. Because it is impossible that a greater body should be included in the place of a lesser body. But it is manifest, that the true body of Christ is of a greater quantity than the bread that is offered on the altar. Therefore it seems impossible, that the true body of Christ should be whole and entire there, where the bread seems to be. But if the whole be not there, but only some part of it, then the foresaid inconvenience returns, that always when this sacrament is performed, the body of Christ is differenced (or separated) by parts."

I will only here set down what the Catholic author replies to this (after the unintelligible distinctions of the Schools) and seems most to trust to, even such wise similitudes as these,

* Ibid. 13. Impossib. fol. 134.

† Ibid. 14. Imposs. fol. eod.

that the soul is greater than the body, and yet is contained within it; that a great mountain is contained in the little apple of the eye; and the greatest bodies in a little looking-glass, and great virtues in little precious stones, and in the little body of the Pope great authority, &c.

6. The Jew says,* “You Christians affirm, that your Christ is in like manner on more altars where masses are celebrated. This seems to be impossible, because it is impossible for one body to exist in more places than one. But it is plain that this sacrament is celebrated in more places. Therefore it seems impossible that the body of Christ should be truly contained in this sacrament. Unless perhaps any should say, that according to one part of it, it is here, and according to another part elsewhere. But from thence it would again follow, that by the celebration of this sacrament the body of Christ is divided into parts: when yet the quantity of the body of Christ seems not to suffice for the dividing so many particles out of it, as there are places in which this sacrament is performed.”

7. † “You Christians say, that after consecration, all the accidents of bread and wine are manifestly perceived in this sacrament, *viz.* the colour, taste, smell, figure, quantity, and weight. About which you cannot be deceived, because sense is not deceived about its proper objects. Now these accidents, as you assert, cannot be in the body of Christ as in their subject.—Nor can they subsist by themselves, seeing the nature and essence of an accident is to be in another thing (7. *Metaphys.*) For accidents, seeing they are forms, cannot be individuated but by their subject; and if the subject were taken away, would be universal forms. It remains therefore that these accidents are in their determinate subjects, *viz.* in the substance of bread and wine. Wherefore there is there the substance of bread and wine, and not the substance of Christ’s body; for it seems impossible that two bodies should be together (in one place).”

8. The Jew says,‡ “It is certain, that if that wine in your sacrament were taken in great quantity, that it would heat the body and intoxicate, as before it was a sacrament; and also, that the bread would strengthen and nourish. It seems also, that if it be kept long and carelessly, it will corrupt; and it may be eaten of mice; the bread and wine also may be burnt

* Ibid. 15. Impossib. fol. 135.

† Ibid. 16. Impossib. fol. 136.

‡ Ibid. 17. Impossib. fol. 137.

and turned into vapours ; all which cannot agree to the body of Christ, seeing your faith declares it to be impossible. It seems therefore impossible, that the body of Christ should be contained substantially in this sacrament."

9. The Jew says,* that "you Christians break that sacrament into parts ; therefore it is impossible that the body of Christ should be there. The consequence is thus proved : because, that fraction which does sensibly appear, cannot be without a subject. For it seems to be absurd to say, that the subject of this fraction is Christ's body. Therefore it is impossible Christ's body should be there, but only the substance of bread and wine."

There is a great deal more of what the Jews say against this doctrine in that author ; but this is enough for the purposes I before mentioned (and so I leave it to the consciences of those concerned) to shew, that even the Jews have better explained the words whereby Christ instituted this sacrament, than the Romanists have, by making it a figure of Christ's body, and not the body itself, spoken more agreeably to the faith of the ancient Church, that did so ; and have confuted the errors of this Church, by maxims consonant to the sense and reason of all mankind. Which God grant they may be sensible of who have so manifestly swerved from them all, that so their words may never rise up in judgment against them.

* Ibid. 18. Impossib. fol. 137.

THE DOCTRINE
OF THE TRINITY AND TRANSUBSTANTIATION
COMPARED,
AS TO SCRIPTURE, REASON, AND TRADITION.

IN A
NEW DIALOGUE BETWEEN A PROTESTANT AND A PAPIST.

WHEREIN

An answer is given to the late proofs of the Antiquity of Transubstantiation, in the books called Consensus Veterum, and Nubes Testium, &c.

PART I.

Pr. I REMEMBER your last words at parting were, ‘Farewell ; and God give his Holy Spirit to instruct you.’ Which have run much in my mind : for if the Holy Spirit instruct us, what need is there of an infallible Church ? I hope those were not only words of course with you.

Pa. No ; but I meant that the Holy Spirit should instruct you about the authority of the Church.

Pr. Was this indeed your meaning ? Then you would have me believe the Church infallible, because the Holy Spirit, which is infallible, will instruct me about it if I seek his directions.

Pa. Yes.

Pr. But then I have no reason to believe it : for the Holy Spirit, after my seeking his instructions, teaches me otherwise. And if the Holy Spirit is infallible, which way soever it teaches, then I am infallibly sure there is no such thing as infallibility in what you call the Catholic Church.

Pa. Come, come ; you make too much of a sudden expression at parting ; I pray let us return to our main business, which is to shew, that there is the same ground from Scripture, Reason, and Tradition, to believe Transubstantiation, as there is to believe the Trinity. And this I affirm again, after reading the Answers to the former Dialogue ; and I now come somewhat better prepared to make it out.

Pr. So you had need. And I hope I shall be able not only

to defend the contrary, but to make it evident to you that there is a mighty difference in these two doctrines, as to Scripture, reason, and tradition. But I pray keep close to the point : for I hate impertinent trifling in a debate of such consequence.

Pa. I must confess I over-shot myself a little in the former dialogue, when I offered to prove the doctrine of the Trinity unreasonable and absurd : for no Church can make such a doctrine, which is unreasonable and absurd in itself, not to be so to me ; no Church can make three and one to be the same, if they be repugnant in themselves. But my meaning was, that men's disputes about these things will never be ended, till they submit to the authority of the Church.

Pr. And then they may believe three, or three hundred persons in the Trinity, as the Church pleases. Is that your meaning ?

Pa. No. But I said, to my carnal reason it would appear so ; but not to my reason, as under the conduct of an infallible guide.

Pr. Then an infallible guide can make three hundred to be but three ; which is a notable trick of infallibility.

Pa. No ; I tell you I meant only that we are not to follow carnal reason, but the Church's authority, *i. e.* we are not to search into mysteries above reason, but only believe what the Church delivers. And I intend now to argue the point somewhat closely with you. Do you believe that there are any mysteries in the Christian doctrine above reason or not ? If not, you must reject the Trinity ; if you do, then you have no ground for rejecting transubstantiation, because it is above reason.

Pr. You clearly mistake us ; and I perceive are very little acquainted with our doctrine ; for we do not reject any doctrine concerning God merely because it is above our reason, when it is otherwise clearly proved from Scripture. For then we own ourselves bound to submit in matters of divine revelation concerning an infinite Being, though they be above our capacity to comprehend them. But in matters of a finite nature, which are far more easy for us to conceive, and which depend upon the evidence of sense, we may justly reject any doctrine which overthrows that evidence, and is not barely above our reason, but repugnant to it.

Pa. I do not well understand you.

Pr. So I believe ; but I will endeavour to help your understanding a little. And I pray consider these things :

1. That there is a great difference in our conceptions of *finite* and *infinite* beings. For whatsoever is infinite, is thereby owned to be above our comprehension, otherwise it would not be infinite. The attributes of God which are essential to him, as his wisdom, goodness, and power, must be understood by us, so far as to form a true notion of that Being which is infinite; but then the infinity of these attributes is above our reach. And so his infinite duration, which we call eternity; his infinite presence, which we call his immensity; the infinite extent of his knowledge, as to future contingencies; all these must be confessed to be mysteries, not above our reason, but above our capacity. For we have great reason to own them, but we have not faculties to comprehend them. We cannot believe a God, unless we hold him to be infinite in all perfections; and if he be infinite, he must be incomprehensible; so that religion must be overthrown, if something incomprehensible be not allowed. And as to finite beings, so far as they run into what we call infinite, they are so far out of our reach; as appears by the insuperable difficulties about the infinite divisibility of quantity.

2. That we have certain notions of some things in the visible world; both that they are, and that they have some attributes essential to them. We daily converse with things visible and corporeal; and if we do not conceive something true and certain in our minds about them, we live in a dream, and have only phantasms and illusions about us. If we are certain that there are real bodies, and not mere appearances, there must be some certain way of conveying such impressions to our minds, from whence they may conclude, this is a horse, and this a man, and this is flesh, and this blood, and this is wood, and this stone; otherwise all certainty is gone, and we must turn mere sceptics.

3. That in examining the sense of Scripture, we may make use of those certain notions of visible things which God and nature have planted in us; otherwise we are not dealt with as reasonable creatures. And therefore we must use those faculties God hath given us, in reading and comparing Scriptures, and examining the sense that is offered by such notions which are agreeable to the nature of things. As for instance, the Scripture frequently attributes *eyes* and *ears* and *hands* to the Almighty: must we presently believe God to have a human shape because of this? No; we compare these with the necessary attributes of God, and from thence see a necessity

of interpreting these expressions in a sense agreeable to the Divine nature. So if other expressions of Scripture seem to affirm that of a body which is inconsistent with the nature of it ; as, that it is not visible, or may be in many places at once, there is some reason for me to understand them in a sense agreeable to the essential properties of a body.

4. There is a difference between our not apprehending the manner how a thing is, and the apprehending the impossibility of the thing itself. And this is the meaning of the distinction of things above our reason, and contrary to our reason. If the question be, how the same individual nature can be communicated to three distinct persons ? we may justly answer, we cannot apprehend the manner of it, no more than we can the Divine immensity, or an infinite amplitude without extension. But if any go about to prove there is an impossibility in the thing, he must prove that the Divine nature can communicate itself no otherwise than a finite individual nature can : for all acknowledge the same common nature may be communicated to three persons, and so the whole controversy rests on this single point as to reason ; whether the Divine nature and persons are to be judged and measured as human nature and persons are. And in this, I think we have the advantage, in point of reason, of the Antitrinitarians themselves, although they pretend never so much to it.

Pa. Good night, Sir ; I perceive you are in for an hour ; and I have not so much time to spare, to hear such long preachments. For my part, talk of sense and reason as long as you will, I am for the Catholic Church.

Pr. And truly, she is mightily obliged to you for opposing her authority to sense and reason.

Pa. Call it what you will, I am for the Church's authority ; and the talk of sense and reason is but *canting* without that.

Pr. The matter is then come to a fine pass ; I thought *canting* had rather been that which was spoken against sense or reason. But I pray, Sir, what say you to what I have been discoursing ?

Pa. To tell you truth, I did not mind it ; for as soon as I heard whither you were going, I clapped fast hold of the Church, as a man would do of a mast in a storm, and resolved not to let go my hold.

Pr. What ! although you should sink together with it.

Pa. If I do, the Church must answer for it ; for I must sink or swim with it.

Pr. What comfort will that be to you, when you are called to an account for yourself? But if you stick here it is to no purpose to talk any more with you.

Pa. I think so too. But now we are in, methinks we should not give over thus; especially since I began this dialogue about the Trinity and Transubstantiation.

Pr. If you do, we know the reason of it. But I am resolved to push this matter now as far as it will go; and either to convince you of your mistake, or at least to make you give it over wholly.

Pa. But if I must go on in my parallel, I will proceed in my own way. I mentioned three things, Scripture, Reason, and Tradition. And I will begin with Tradition.

Pr. This is somewhat an uncouth method; but I must be content to follow your conduct.

Pa. No, Sir, the method is very natural; for in mysteries above reason, the safest way is to trust tradition. And none can give so good account of that as the Church.

Pr. Take your own way: but I perceive tradition with you is the sense of the present Church; which is as hard to conceive, as that a *nunc stans* should be an eternal succession.

Pa. As to comparing tradition, I say, that the mystery of the Trinity was questioned in the very infancy of the Church, and the Arians prevailed much against it in the beginning of the fourth age; but transubstantiation lay unquestioned and quiet for a long time; and when it came into debate, there was no such opposition as that of Arius, to call in question the authority of its tradition; the Church received it unanimously, and in that sense continued till rash reason attempted to fathom the unlimited miracles and mysteries of God.

Pr. I stand amazed at the boldness of this assertion: but I find your present writers are very little versed in antiquity; which makes them offer things concerning the ancient Church, especially as to transubstantiation, which those who had been modest and learned would have been ashamed of.

Pa. I hope I may make use of them to justify myself, though you slight them, I mean the *Consensus Veterum*, the *Nubes Testium*, and the single sheet about transubstantiation.

Pr. Take them all, and as many more as you please, I am sure you can never prove transubstantiation to have been, and the Trinity not to have been the constant belief of the Primitive Church.

Pa. Let me manage my own argument first.

Pr. All the reason in the world.

Pa. My argument is, that the doctrine of the Trinity met with far more opposition than transubstantiation did.

Pr. Good reason for it, because it was never heard of then. You may as well say, the tradition of the circulation of the blood lay very quiet, from the days of Hippocrates to the time of Parisanus. Who was there that opposed things before they were thought of?

Pa. That is your great mistake, for transubstantiation was very well known, but they did not happen to speak so much of it, because it was not opposed.

Pr. But how is it possible for you to know it was so well known, if they spake not of it?

Pa. I did not say they did not speak of it, but not so much, or not half so express; because it is not customary for men to argue unquestionable truths.

Pr. But still how shall it be known that the Church received this doctrine unanimously, if they do not speak expressly of it? But since you offer at no proof of your assertion, I will make a fair offer to you, and undertake to prove, that the Fathers spake expressly against it.

Pa. How is that? Expressly against it? God forbid.

Pr. Make of it what you please, and answer what you can: I begin with my proofs.

Pa. Nay, then we are in for all night. I am now full of business, and cannot hearken to tedious proofs out of the Fathers, which have been canvassed a hundred times.

Pr. I will be as short as I can; and I promise you not to transcribe any that have hitherto written, nor to urge you with any spurious writer, or lame citation at second or third hand; and I shall produce nothing but what I have read, considered, and weighed in the authors themselves.

Pa. Since it must be so, let me hear your doughty arguments, which I cannot as well turn against the Trinity; for that is my point.

Pr. I leave you to try your skill upon them. The first shall be from the proofs of the truth of Christ's incarnation; and I hope this will not hold against the Trinity. And those arguments which they brought to prove Christ incarnate, do overthrow transubstantiation effectually. So that either we must make the Fathers to reason very ill against heretics; or, if their arguments be good, it was impossible they should believe transubstantiation. For can you suppose that any

can believe it, who should not barely assert, but make the force of an argument to lie in this, that the substance of the bread doth not remain after consecration? And this I now prove, not from any slight inconsiderable authors, but from some of the greatest men in the Church in their time. I begin with St. Chrysostom, whose epistle to Cæsarius is at last brought to light by a learned person of the Roman communion; who makes no question of the sincerity of it, and saith, “the Latin translation which only he could find entire, was about five hundred years old;” but he hath so confirmed it by the Greek fragments of it, quoted by ancient Greek authors, that there can be no suspicion left concerning it.

Pa. What means all this ado before you come to the point?

Pr. Because this epistle hath been formerly so confidently denied to be St. Chrysostom’s; and such care was lately taken to suppress it.

Pa. But what will you do with it now you have it?

Pr. I will tell you presently. This epistle was written by him for the satisfaction of Cæsarius, a monk, who was in danger of being seduced by the Apollinarists.

Pa. What have we to do with the Apollinarists? Do you think all hard words are akin, and so the affinity rises between Apollinarists and transubstantiation?

Pr. You shall find it comes nearer the matter than you imagined. For those heretics denied the truth of the human nature of Christ after the union, and said that the properties of it did then belong to the divine nature; as appears by that very epistle.

Pa. And what of all this? Do we deny the truth of Christ’s human nature?

Pr. No; but I pray observe the force of his parallel. He is proving that each nature in Christ contains its properties; for, saith he,* “as before consecration we call it bread, but after it, by divine grace sanctifying it through the prayer of the priest, it is no longer called bread, but the body of our Lord, although the nature of bread remains in it; and it doth

* Sicut enim antequam sanctificatur panis, panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante Gratia, mediante Sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici Corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura Panis in ipso permansit, et non duo Corpora, sed unum Corpus Filii prædicatur; sic et hic divina ἐνδρυµάσης (ἐνδρυµένης in Græc. Exemplar. Ep. Bigot.) id est, inundante Corporis Natura, unum Filium, unam Personam utraque hæc fecerunt.

not become two bodies, but one body of Christ ; so here the divine nature being joined to the human, they both make one Son, and one Person."

Pa. And what do you infer from hence ?

Pr. Nothing more, but that the nature of bread doth as certainly remain after consecration, as the nature of Christ doth after the union.

Pa. Hold a little. For the author of the single sheet saith,* "That the Fathers by nature and substance do often mean no more than the natural qualities, or visible appearances of things." And why may not St. Chrysostom mean so here ?

Pr. I say, it is impossible he should. For all the dispute was about the substance, and not about the qualities, as appears by that very epistle ; for those heretics granted that Christ had all the properties of a body left still ; they do not deny that Christ could suffer, but they said, the properties of a body after the union belonged to the divine nature, the human nature being swallowed up by the union. And therefore St. Chrysostom, by nature, must understand substance, and not qualities ; or else he doth by no means prove that which he aimed at. So that St. Chrysostom doth manifestly assert the substance of the bread to remain after consecration.

Pa. But doth not St. Chrysostom suppose then, that upon consecration, "the bread is united to the divinity, as the human nature is to the divine ;" else what parallel could he make ?

Pr. I will deal freely with you, by declaring, that not St. Chrysostom only, but many others of the Fathers, did own the bread, after consecration, to be made the real body of Christ ; but not in your sense, by changing the substance of the elements into that body of Christ which is in heaven ; but by a mystical union, caused by the Holy Spirit, whereby the bread becomes the body of Christ, as that was which was conceived in the womb of the blessed Virgin. But this is quite another thing from transubstantiation ; and the Church of England owns, that after consecration, "the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ."

Pa. But although this be not transubstantiation, it may be something as hard to believe or understand.

Pr. By no means. For all the difficulties relating to the taking away the substance of the bread, and the properties of Christ's body, are removed by this hypothesis.

* Papist Misrepresented, and Represented, part 2. ch. 3. p. 23.

Pa. Let us then keep to our point. But methinks this is but a slender appearance yet; St. Chrysostom stands alone for all that I see.

Pr. Have but a little patience, and you shall see more of his mind presently. But I must first tell you, that the Eutychians afterwards were condemned in the Council of Chalcedon for following this doctrine of Apollinaris; and that Council defines,* “that the differences of the two natures in Christ were not destroyed by the union; but that their properties were preserved distinct, and concur to one person.” And against these, the other Fathers disputed just as St. Chrysostom had done before against the Apollinarists.

Theodoret brings the same instance, and he affirms expressly, that the nature of the elements is not changed; that they do not lose their proper nature, but remain in their former substance, figure and form, and may be seen and touched as before.†

Still this is not to prove any accidental qualities, but the very substance of Christ’s body to remain.

Pa. But was not Theodoret a man of suspected faith in the Church? and therefore no great matter can be made of his testimony.

Pr. Yield it then to us; and see if we do not clear Theodoret; but your own learned men never question him, as to this matter (at least), and the ancient Church hath vindicated his reputation. And he saith no more than St. Chrysostom before him, and others of great esteem after him.

Pa. Who were they?

Pr. What say you to a Pope, whom you account head of the Church? Pope Gelasius, writing against the same heretics, produces the same example, and he expressly saith,‡ “the substance of the bread and wine doth not cease.”

* Concil. Chalced. Act. 5.

† Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σίτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. Dial. 1. Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἅπτά, οἷον καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Dial. 2.

‡ Certè Sacramenta quæ sumimus Corporis et Sanguinis Domini, divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes Naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura Panis et Vini. Gelas. in Biblioth. Patr. tom. 4.

Pa. I thought I should find you tripping. Here you put a fob-head of the Church upon us. For the author of the single sheet saith,* this was another Gelasius, as is proved at large by Bellarmine.

Pr. In truth, I am ashamed of the ignorance of such small authors, who will be meddling with things they understand not. For this writer, since Bellarmine's time, hath been evidently proved from testimonies of antiquity, such as Fulgentius and John II. to have been Pope Gelasius, and that by some of the most learned persons of the Roman Communion, such as Cardinal Du Perron, Petavius, Sirmondus, and others.

Pa. Have you any more that talk at this rate?

Pr. Yes. What think you of a Patriarch of Antioch, who useth the same similitude for the same purpose; and he affirms, that the sensible substance still continues in the eucharist, though it hath divine grace joined with it.† And I pray now tell me seriously, did the tradition of transubstantiation lie unquestioned and quiet all this while? When we have three patriarchs, of Constantinople, Rome, and Antioch, expressly against it; and one of them owned by yourselves to be head of the Church; and held by many to be infallible, especially when he teaches the Church; which he doth, if ever, when he declares against heretics.

Pa. I know not what to say, unless by nature and substance they meant qualities and properties.

Pr. I have evidently proved that could not be their meaning.

Pa. But I am told Monsieur Arnaud, in his elaborate defence against Claude, goes that way, and he saith,‡ “the Eutychians and Apollinarists did not absolutely deny any substance to remain in Christ's body, but not so as to be endued with such properties as ours have.”

Pr. I grant this is the main of his defence; but I confess, Monsieur Arnaud hath not so much authority with me, as a General Council which declared the contrary; viz. “That the Eutychians were condemned for not holding two substances or natures in Christ after the union.”§ And Domnus Antio-

* Pag. 20.

† Οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται, καὶ τῆς νοετῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος. Ephræm Antioch. ap. Phot. Cod. 229.

‡ Tom. 3. l. 5. c. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11.

§ Ap. Facund. l. 8. c. 5.

chenus, who first laid open the Eutychian heresy, saith, "It lay in making a mixture and confusion of both natures in Christ, and so making the divinity passible:" and to the same purpose others. There were some who charged both Apollinaris and Eutyches with holding, "that Christ brought his body from heaven, and that it was not consubstantial with ours;"* but Apollinaris himself, in the fragments preserved by Leontius, not only denies it, but pronounces an anathema against those that hold it. And Vitalis of Antioch, a great disciple of his; in discourse with Epiphanius,† utterly denied a celestial body in Christ. Vincentius Lirinensis saith, "His heresy lay in denying two distinct substances in Christ." St. Augustine saith, "He held but one substance after the union;" so that he must deny any substance of a body to remain after the union, which he asserted to be wholly swallowed up, and the properties to continue: which was another kind of transubstantiation; for no more of the substance of Christ's body was supposed to remain after the union, than there is supposed to be in the elements after consecration. But in both cases the properties and qualities were the same still. And it is observable, that in the Acts of the Council‡ of Chalcedon, Eutyches rejected it, "as a calumny cast upon him, that he should hold that Christ brought a body from heaven." But the Eutychian doctrine lay in taking away the substance of the body, and making the divinity the sole substance, but with the accidents and properties of the body. And for this they produced the words of St. John, "The Word was made flesh;" which they urged with the same confidence that you now do, "This is my body."§ And when they were urged with difficulties, they made the very same recourse to God's omnipotency, and the letter of Scripture, and made the same declamations against the use of reason that you do; and withal, they would not have the human nature to be annihilated, but to be changed into the divine; just as your authors do about the substance of the bread. So that it is hard to imagine a more exact parallel to transubstantiation than there is in this doctrine; and consequently there can be no more evident proof of it, than the Fathers making use of the instance of the eucharist, to shew, that as the substance of bread doth remain after

* Ap. Canis. Antiq. Lection. tom. 4. p. 112, 114, 127.

† Epiph. Hær. 77. Vincent. Common. Aug. de Hæres. c. 55.

‡ Concil. Chalced. Act. 1.

§ Theodr. Dial. 1. et 2.

consecration ; and so the substance of Christ's body doth continue after the union. And when the Fathers from the remaining properties do prove the substance to remain, they overthrow the possibility of transubstantiation. For, if they might be without the substance, their whole argument loses its force, and proves just nothing.

Pa. But all this proves nothing as to the faith of the Church ; being only arguments used by divines in the heat of disputes.

Pr. Do you then in earnest give up the Fathers as disputants to us ; but retain them as believers to yourselves ? But how should we know their faith but by their works ?

Pa. I perceive you have a mind to be pleasant ; but my meaning was, that in disputes men may easily overshoot themselves, and use ineffectual arguments.

Pr. But is it possible to suppose they should draw arguments from something against the faith of the Church ? As for instance ; suppose, now we are disputing about transubstantiation, you should bring an argument from the human nature of Christ, and say, that as in the hypostatical union the substance is changed, and nothing but the accidents remain ; so it is in the elements upon consecration. Do you think I should not presently deny your example, and say, your very supposition is heretical ? So, no doubt, would the Eutychians have done, in case the faith of the Church had then been, that the substance of the elements was changed after consecration. And the Eutychians were the most sottish disputants in the world, if they had not brought the doctrine of transubstantiation to prove their heresy.

Pa. Methinks you are very long upon this argument ; when shall we have done at this rate ?

Pr. I take this for your best answer ; and so I proceed to a second argument, which I am sure will not hold against the Trinity ; and that is, from the natural and inseparable properties of Christ's body ; which are utterly inconsistent with the belief of transubstantiation. And the force of the argument in general, lies in this, that the Fathers did attribute such things to the body of Christ, which render it incapable of being present in such a manner in the sacrament as transubstantiation supposes. And no men who understand themselves, will assert that at one time, which they must be bound to deny at another ; but they will be sure to make an exception or limitation, which may reconcile both together. As if you should

say, that the body of Christ cannot be in more places than one at once, upon the doctrine of St. Thomas; you would presently add, with regard to the sacrament, *i. e.* not in regard of its natural presence, but in a sacramental it may: so, if the Fathers had an opinion like yours as to the body of Christ, they would have a reserve, or exception, as to the sacrament. But it appears by their writings, that they attribute such properties in general to the body of Christ, as overthrow any such presence, without exceptions or limitations. But that is not all: for I shall now prove,

1. That they do not attribute circumscription to Christ's body in heaven, so as to exclude the possibility of its being upon earth.

2. That they deny any such thing as the supernatural existence of a body after the manner of a spirit.

Pa. What do you mean? I am quite tired already; and now you are turning up the other glass.

Pr. Since you will be dabbling in these^m controversies, you must not think to escape so easily. I have been not a little offended at the insolence of some late pamphlets upon this argument; and now I come to close reasoning, you would fain be gone.

Pa. I am in a little haste at present; I pray come quickly to the point.

Pr. As soon as you please. What think you, if a man now should bring an argument to prove a matter of faith from hence, that Christ's body could not be in heaven and earth at once; would this argument hold good? Yet thus Vigilius Tapsitanus argues against those who denied two natures in Christ; for saith he,* "The body of Christ, when it was on earth, was not in heaven; now it is in heaven, it is not upon earth; and it is so far from being so, that we expect him to come from heaven in his flesh, whom we believe to be now present on earth by his divinity." How can this hold, if the body of Christ can be in heaven and earth at the same time?

Pa. He speaks this of the natural presence of Christ's body, and not of the sacramental.

Pr. The argument is not drawn from the manner of the presence, but from the nature of a body; that it could not be

* Nam quando in terra fuit, non erat ubique in cœlo. Et nunc quia in cœlo est, non est ubique in terra, et in tantum non est, ut secundum ipsam (carnem) Christum spectemus esse venturum de cœlo, quem secundum verbum nobiscum esse credimus in terra. Cont. Eutyech. l. 4. n. 14.

in heaven and earth at the same time. And so St. Augustine said,* “that Christ was every where present as God ; but confined to a certain place in heaven, according to the measure of his true body.”

Pa. This is only to disprove the ubiquity of Christ’s body ; and not his being in several places at the same time.

Pr. Then you yield it to be repugnant to the nature of a body to be every where present.

Pa. Yes.

Pr. But what if there be as great a repugnancy from St. Augustine’s argument, for a body to be present in several places at once ?

Pa. I see no such thing.

Pr. No ? His argument is from the confinement of a true body to a certain place. And if it be in many places at once, it is as far from being confined as if it took up all places. And there are some greater difficulties as to a body’s being distant from itself, than in asserting its ubiquity.

Pa. I perceive you are inclined to be a Lutheran.

Pr. No such matter. For I think the essential properties of a finite and infinite being are incommunicable to each other, and I look on ubiquity as one of them.

Pa. Then the same argument will not hold as to presence in several places, for this is no infinite perfection.

Pr. You run from one argument to another. For these are two distinct ways of arguing ; and the argument from the repugnancy of it to the nature of a body doth as well hold against ubiquity, as that it is a divine perfection. And St. Augustine, in that excellent epistle, doth argue from the essential properties and dimensions of bodies, and the difference of the presence of a spirit and a body. I pray read and consider that epistle, and you will think it impossible St. Augustine should believe transubstantiation.

Pa. St. Augustine was a great disputant, and such are wont, while they are eager upon one point, to forget another. But St. Augustine elsewhere doth assert the presence of Christ’s real body in the sacrament.

Pr. Then the plain consequence is, that he contradicted himself.

Pa. But he doth not speak of a sacramental presence.

* Et ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum—et in loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum. Ad Dardan.

Pr. What again? But St. Augustine makes this an essential difference between a divine and corporeal presence;* that “the one doth not fill places by its dimensions as the other doth;” so that bodies cannot be in distant places at once. What think you of this?

Pa. I pray go on.

Pr. What think you of the Manichees’ doctrine, who held “that Christ was in the sun and moon when he suffered on the cross?” Was this possible or not?

Pa. What would you draw from hence?

Pr. Nothing more, but that St. Augustine disproved it,† “because his body could not be at the same time in the sun and moon, and upon earth.”

Pa. As to the ordinary course of nature St. Augustine’s argument holds, but not as to the miraculous power of God.

Pr. There is a difference between the ordinary course of nature, and the unchangeable order of nature.

Pa. Let me hear this again, for it is new doctrine to us.

Pr. That’s strange! Those things are by the ordinary course of nature, which cannot be changed but by divine power, but imply no repugnancy for God to alter that course; but those are by the unchangeable order of nature, which cannot be done without overthrowing the very nature of the things; and such things are impossible in themselves, and therefore God himself cannot do them.

Pa. It seems then you set bounds to God’s omnipotency.

Pr. Doth not the Scripture say, there are some things impossible for God to do?

Pa. Yes; such as are repugnant to his own perfections; as “it is impossible for God to lie.”

Pr. But are there no other things impossible to be done? What think you of making the time past not to be past?

Pa. That is impossible in itself.

Pr. But is it not impossible for the same body to be in two different times?

Pa. Yes.

Pr. Why not then in two or more different places; since a body is as certainly confined, as to place, as it is to time?

* Non enim corpora sunt, quorum amplior sit in tribus quam in singulis magnitudo, nec loca suis molibus tenent, ut distantibus spatiis simul esse non possint. Ad Dardan.

† Secundum præsentiam vero corporalem simul et in sole et in luna et in cruce esse non posset. C. Faust. l. 20. c. 11.

Pa. You are run now into the point of reason when we were upon St. Augustine's testimony.

Pr. But I say, St. Augustine went upon this ground: that it was repugnant to the nature of a body to be in more places than one at the same time. And so likewise Cassian proves,* "that when Christ was upon earth he could not be in heaven, but in regard of his divinity." Is there not the same repugnancy for a body in heaven to be upon earth, as for a body upon earth to be in heaven?

Pa. These are new questions which I have not met with in our writers, and therefore I shall take time to answer them. But all these testimonies proceed upon a body considered under the nature of a body; but in the sacrament, we consider Christ's body as present after the manner of a spirit.

Pr. That was the next thing I promised to prove from the Fathers, that they knew of no such thing, and therefore could not believe your doctrine. Have you observed what the Fathers say about the difference of body and spirit?

Pa. Not I; but I have read our authors, who produce them for our doctrine.

Pr. That is the perpetual fault of your writers, to attend more to the sound of their words than to the force of their reasonings. They bring places out of popular discourses intended to heighten the people's devotion, and never compare them with those principles which they assert, when they come to reasoning; which would plainly shew their other expressions are to be understood in a mystical and figurative sense. But I pray tell me, do you think the Fathers had no distinct notion of a body and spirit, and the essential properties of both?

Pa. Yes, doubtless.

Pr. Suppose then they made those to lie in such things as are inconsistent with the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament after the manner of a spirit, do you think then they could hold it to be so present? And if they did not, they could not believe transubstantiation.

Pa. Very true.

Pr. What think you then of St. Augustine, who makes it impossible for a body to be without its dimensions and extension of parts? But you assert a body may be without

* Et cum in terra loquitur, in coelo utique nisi per Dei infinitatem esse non possit. De Incarn. l. 4. c. 6.

them ; or else it cannot be after the manner of a spirit, as you say it is in the sacrament.

Pa. I pray shew that St. Augustine made it inconsistent with the nature of a body to be otherwise.

Pr. He saith, “ that all bodies, how gross or subtile soever they be, can never be all every where* (*i.e.* cannot be indivisibly present after the manner of a spirit), but must be extended according to their several parts, and whether great or little, must take up a space, and so fill the place, that it cannot be all in any one part.” Is this possible to be reconciled with your notion of a body being present after the manner of a spirit ?

Pa. To be present after the manner of a spirit is, with us, to be so present, as not to be extended, and to be whole in every part.

Pr. But this St. Augustine saith, “ no body can be ;” and not only there but elsewhere he saith, “ Take away dimensions from bodies, and they are no longer bodies. And that a greater part takes up a greater space, and a lesser a less ; and must be always less in the part than in the whole.”†

Pa. But he speaks of extension in itself, and not with respect to place.

Pr. That is of extension that is not extended ; for if it be, it must have respect to place ; but nothing can be plainer than that St. Augustine doth speak with respect to place.‡ And he elsewhere saith, “ that every body must have place, and be extended in it.”

* Sive ista crassiora, sive subtiliora, sed tamen corpora, quorum nullum potest esse ubique totum, quoniam per innumerabiles partes aliud alibi habeat necesse est. Et quantumcunque sit corpus, seu quantulumcunque corpusculum, loci occupet spatium, eundemque locum sic impleat, ut in nulla ejus parte sit totum. Ad Volusian.

† Quanquam si hoc demas corporibus, quantum mea opinio est, neque sentiri possunt, neque omnino corpora esse recte existimarem. De Quant. Animæ, c. 4.—Quod per loci spacium aliqua longitudine, latitudine, altitudine ita sistitur vel movetur, ut majore sui parte majorem locum occupet, et breviori brevior, minusque sit in parte quam in toto. Ad Hieron. Ep. 166.

‡ Non omnino potest esse aliquod corpus, sive coeleste, sive terrestre, sive aereum, sive humidum, quid non minus sit in parte quam in toto, neque ullo modo possit in loco hujus partis simul habere aliam partem ; sed aliud hic, aliud alibi habens per quælibet spatia locorum distantia et dividua, vel potius, ut ita dicam, sectili more distenditur. C. Epist. Manich. c. 16.

Omne corpus locale est, et omne locale corpus est. 63. Quæst. c. 35.

Corpus quodlibet per localia spatia porrectum est. 83. Quæst. c. 51.

Pa. But he doth not speak this of the sacrament.

Pr. But he speaks it of all bodies wheresoever present ; and he doth not except the sacrament, which he would certainly have done, if he had believed as you do concerning it.

Pa. St. Augustine might have particular opinions in this, as he had in other things.

Pr. So far from it, that I shall make it appear, that this was the general sense of the Fathers. St. Gregory Nazianzen saith,* “That the nature of bodies requires, that they have figure and shape, and may be touched, and seen, and circumscribed.” St. Cyril of Alexandria saith, “That if God himself were a body, he must be liable to the properties of bodies, and he must be in a place, as bodies are.” And all those Fathers who prove that God cannot be a body, do it from such arguments as shew, that they knew nothing of a body’s being after the manner of a spirit : for then the force of their arguments is lost, which are taken from the essential properties of a body, such as extension, divisibility, and circumscription. But if a body may be without these, then God may be a body after the manner of a spirit ; and so the spirituality of the divine nature will be taken away.

Pa. I never heard these arguments before, and must take some time to consider.

Pr. The sooner the better ; and I am sure if you do, you will repent being a new convert. But I have yet something to add to this argument ; *viz.* that those who have stated the difference between body and spirit, have made extension, and taking up a place, and divisibility, necessary to the very being of a body ; and that what is not circumscribed, is incorporeal.†

Pa. Methinks your arguments run out to a great length ; I pray bring them into a less compass.

Pr. I proceed to a third argument from the Fathers, which will not take up much time : and that is, that the Fathers knew nothing of the subsistence of accidents without their substance, without which, transubstantiation cannot be maintained : and therefore in the Roman schools, the possibility of accidents subsisting without their subjects, is defended. But on the contrary, Maximus, one of the oldest of the Fathers, who lived in the second century, affirms‡ it to be “of the essence of accidents to be in their substance.” St. Basil saith,§

* Orat. 34. et in Ep. ad Cledon. Dial. 2. de Trin.

† Claud. Mamert. de Statu Animæ, l. 1. c. 5, 17, 18. l. 3. c. 14.

‡ Apud Euseb. de Præp. Evangel. l. 7. c. 22. § Basil. Epist. 43.

“Nature doth not bear a distinction between body and figure, although reason makes one.”

Isidore Pelusiota* saith, “That quality cannot be without substance.”

Gregory Nyssen,† “That figure cannot be without body, and that a body cannot be conceived without qualities : and that if we take away colour, and quantity, and resistance, the whole notion of a body is destroyed.” “Take away space from bodies,” saith St. Augustine,‡ “and they can be no where ; and if they can be nowhere, they cannot be :” and so he saith, “if we take away bodies from their qualities.” And in plain terms, “that no qualities, as colours or form, can remain without their subject.”

And that no accidents can be without their subject, is in general affirmed by Isidore Hispalensis,§ Boethius, Damascene, and others, who give an account of the philosophy of the ancients.

Pa. All this proceeds upon the old philosophy of accidents : what if there be none at all ?

Pr. What then makes the same impression on our senses when the substance is gone, as when it was there ? Is there a perpetual miracle to deceive our senses ? But it is impossible to maintain transubstantiation, as it is defined in the Church of Rome, without accidents : they may hold some other doctrine in the place of it, but they cannot hold that. And that other doctrine will be as impossible to be understood. For if once we suppose the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, in place of the substance of the bread, which appears to our senses to be bread still : then suppose there be no accidents, the body of a man must make the same impression on our senses, which the substance of bread doth, which is so horrible an absurdity, that the philosophy of accidents cannot imply any greater than it. So that the new transubstantiators had as good return to the old Mumpsimus of accidents.

Pa. I suppose you have now done with this argument.

Pr. No : I have something farther to say about it, which is, that the Fathers do not only assert, “that accidents cannot be without their subject,” but they confute heretics on that supposition : which shews their assurance of the truth of it.

* Isidor. Epist. l. 2. Ep. 72.

† Greg. Nyssen. in Hexaem. p. 13. De Hom. Opificio, c. 24.

‡ Aug. Ep. ad Dardanum, cont. Julian. l. 5. c. 9.

§ Isid. Origin. l. 2. c. 26. Boeth. de Prædic. Damascen. Dial. c. 1. Alcuin. Dial. c. 5, 12.

Irenæus* overthrows the Valentinian conjugations, because truth can be no more without a subject, than water without moisture, or fire without heat, or a stone without hardness, which are so joined together, that they cannot be separated.

Methodius† confutes Origen's fancy about the soul having the shape of a body, without the substance, because the shape and the body cannot be separated from each other.

St. Augustine‡ proves the immortality of the soul from hence, "because mere accidents can never be separated from the body, so as the mind is by abstraction." And in another place, he asserts it to be a "monstrous absurd doctrine, to suppose that thing, whose nature is to be in a subject, to be capable of subsisting without it."

Claudianus Mamertus proves,§ "that the soul could not be in the body as its subject; for then it could not subsist when the body is destroyed."

Pa. I hope you have now done with this third argument.

Pr. Yes: and I shall wait your own time for an answer. I go on to a fourth: and that is, from the evidence of sense, asserted and allowed by the Fathers, with respect to the body of Christ.

Pa. I expected this before now. For, as the author of the single sheet observes: "This is the cock-argument of one of the lights of your Church; and it so far resembles the light, that like it, it makes a glaring show, but go to grasp it, and you find nothing in your hand."

Pr. Then it is plain our senses are deceived.

Pa. Not as to transubstantiation: for he believes more of his senses than we do: for his eyes tell him there is the colour of bread, and he assents to them; his tongue, that it has the taste of bread, and he agrees to it: and so for his smelling and feeling: but then he hath a notable fetch in his conclusion; *viz.* that his ears tell him from the words spoken by Christ himself, that it is the body of Christ, and he believes these too. Is not here one sense more than you believe? And yet you would persuade the world that we do not believe our senses.

Pr. This is admirable stuff; but it must be tenderly dealt with. For I pray, what doth he mean, when he saith, "he

* Iren. l. 2. c. 14.

† Apud Phot. Cod. 234.

‡ Aug. de Immort. Anim. c. 10. Soliloq. l. 2. c. 13.

§ De Statu Animæ, l. 3. c. 3.

believes from Christ's own words, that it is the body of Christ?" What is this *it*? Is it the accidents he speaks of before? Are those accidents then the body of Christ? Is it the substance of bread? But that is not discerned by the senses, he saith: and if it were, will he say that the substance of bread is the body of Christ? If neither of these, then his believing it is the body of Christ signifies nothing; for there can be no sense of it.

Pa. However, he shews, that we who believe transubstantiation do not renounce our senses, as you commonly reproach us; for we believe all that our senses represent to us, which is only the outward appearance. For, as he well observes, if your eyes see the substance of things, they are most extraordinary ones, and better than ours. For our parts, we see no farther than the colour, or figure, &c. of things, which are only accidents, and the entire object of that sense.

Pr. Is there no difference between the perception of sense, and the evidence of sense? We grant, that the perception of our senses goes no farther than to the outward accidents; but that perception affords such an evidence by which the mind doth pass judgment upon the thing represented by the outward sense. I pray tell me, have you any certainty there is such a thing as a material substance in the world?

Pa. Yes.

Pr. Whence comes the certainty of the substance, since your senses cannot discover it? Do we live among nothing but accidents? Or can we know nothing beyond them?

Pa. I grant we may know in general, that there are such things as substances in the world.

Pr. But can we not know the difference of one substance from another, by our senses? As for instance, can we not know a man from a horse, or an elephant from a mouse, or a piece of bread from a church? Or do we only know there are such and such accidents belong to every one of these; but our senses are not so extraordinary to discover the substances under them? I pray answer me one question, Did you ever keep Lent?

Pa. What a strange question is this? Did you not tell me you would avoid impertinences?

Pr. This is none, I assure you.

Pa. Then I answer, I think myself obliged to keep it.

Pr. Then you thought yourself bound to abstain from flesh, and to eat fish.

Pa. What of all that?

Pr. Was it the substance of flesh you abstained from, or only the accidents of it?

Pa. The substance.

Pr. And did you know the difference between the substance of flesh and fish by your taste?

Pa. Yes.

Pr. Then you have an extraordinary taste, which goes to the very substance.

Pa. But this is off from our business, which was about the Fathers, and not our own judgment about the evidence of sense.

Pr. I am ready for you upon that argument. And I only desire to know whether you think the evidence of sense sufficient, as to the true body of Christ, where it is supposed to be present?

Pa. By no means; for then we could not believe it to be present, where we cannot perceive it.

Pr. But the Fathers did assert the evidence of sense to be sufficient, as to the true body of Christ; so Irenæus,* Tertulian,† Epiphanius,‡ Hilary,§ and St. Augustine.|| I will produce their words at length, if you desire them.

Pa. It will be but lost labour, since we deny not, as Cardinal Bellarmine well saith,¶ “the evidence of sense to be a good positive evidence, but not a negative,” *i. e.* that it is a body which is handled, and felt, and seen; but not, that it is no body which is not.

Pr. Very well! and I pray then what becomes of your single sheet-man, who so confidently denies sense to be good positive evidence as to a real body; but only as to the outward appearance?

Pa. You mistake him; for he saith, “We are to believe our senses, where they are not indisposed, and no divine revelation intervenes;” which we believe there doth in this case; and therefore, unless the Fathers speak of the sacrament, we have no reason to regard their testimonies in this matter. But we have stronger evidence against you from the Fathers, for they say we are not to rely on the evidence of sense, as to the sacrament. So St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose.

* Iren. 1. 3. 20. 5. 7.

† Tertul. de Carne Christi, c. 5. Advers. Marc. 1. 4. c. 43. 1. 3. c. 8, 11.

‡ Epiphan. Hær. 42, 64.

§ Hilar. in Psal. 137.

|| Aug. c. Faust. 1. 29. c. 2. 1. 14. c. 10. 83. Quæst. c. 14. Serm. 238.

¶ De Euch. 1. 1. c. 14.

Pr. I am glad you offer any thing which deserves to be considered. But have you already forgot Bellarmine's rule, that sense may be a good positive evidence, but not a negative, *i.e.* it may discover what is present as a body, but not what is not, and cannot be so present, *viz.* the invisible grace which goes along with it; and as to this, the Fathers might well say, "we are not to trust our sense."

Pa. This is making an interpretation for them.

Pr. No such matter. It is the proper and genuine sense of their words; as will appear from hence.

1. They assert the very same, as to the chrism and baptism, which they do as to the eucharist.*

2. That which they say our senses cannot reach, is something of a spiritual nature, and not a body. And here the case is extremely different from the judgment of sense, as to a material substance. And if you please, I will evidently prove from the Fathers, that that wherein they excluded the judgment of sense in the eucharist, was something wholly spiritual and immaterial.

Pa. No, no, we have been long enough upon the Fathers, unless their evidence were more certain one way or other. For my part, I believe on the account of divine revelation in this matter, "This is my body;" here I stick, and the Fathers agreed with us herein, that Christ's words are not to be taken in a figurative sense.

Pr. The contrary hath been so plainly proved in a late excellent discourse of Transubstantiation, that I wonder none of your party hath yet undertaken to answer it; but they write on as if no such treatise had appeared. I shall therefore wave all the proofs that are there produced, till some tolerable answer be given to them.

Pa. Methinks you have taken a great liberty of talking about the Fathers, as though they were all on your side; but our late authors assure us the contrary; and I hope I may now make use of them, to shew that transubstantiation was the faith of the ancient Church.

Pr. With all my heart, I even long to hear what they can say in a matter, I think, so clear on our side.

Pa. Well, Sir, I begin with the *Consensus Veterum*, written by one that professed himself a minister of the Church of England.

* Cyril. Mystag. 3, et 4, 5. Catech. 3. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83. Ambros. de his qui initiuntur, c. 9.

Pr. Make what you can of him, now you have him ; but I will meddle with no personal things ; I desire to hear his arguments.

Pa. What say you to R. Selomo, interpreting the 72nd Psal. ver. 16, "Of wafers in the days of the Messiah ;"* to R. Moses Haddarsan, on Gen. xxxix. 1, and on Psal. cxxxvi. 25 ; to R. Cahana, on Gen. xlix. 1, who was long before the nativity of Christ ; R. Johai, on Numb. xxviii. 2 ; and to R. Judas, who was many years before Christ came.

Pr. Can you hold your countenance when you repeat these things ? But anything must pass from a new convert. What think you of R. Cahana, and R. Judas, who lived so long before our Saviour, when we know that the Jews have no writings preserved near to our Saviour's time, besides the Bible ; and some say the Paraphrasts upon it. I would have been glad to have seen these testimonies taken from their original authors, and not from Galatinus, who is known to have been a notorious plagiarist, as to the main of his book, and of little or no credit as to the rest. But it is ridiculous to produce the testimonies of Jewish rabbins for transubstantiation, when it is so well known that it is one of their greatest objections against Christianity, as taught in the Roman Church, as may be seen in Joseph Albo, and others. But what is all this to the testimony of the Christian Fathers ?

Pa. Will you not let a man shew a little Jewish learning upon occasion ? But if you have a mind to the Fathers, you shall have enough of them ; for I have a large catalogue of them to produce from the *Consensus Veterum*, *Nubes Testium*, and the single sheet, which generally agree.

Pr. With Coccius or Bellarmine, you mean ; but before you produce them, I pray tell me what you intend to prove by them ?

Pa. The doctrine of our Church.

Pn. As to what ?

Pa. What have we been about all this while ?

Pr. Transubstantiation. Will you prove that ?

Pa. Why, do you suspect me before I begin ?

Pr. I have some reason for it. Let us first agree what we mean by it. Do you mean the same which the Church of Rome doth by it in the Council of Trent ?

Pa. What can we mean else ?

Pr. Let us first see what that is. The Council of Trent

* *Consensus Veterum*, p. 21, 22, 23.

declares, "That the same body of Christ, which is in heaven, is really, truly, and substantially present in the eucharist after consecration, under the species of bread and wine." And the Roman Catechism saith, "It is the very body which was born of the Virgin, and sits at the right hand of God. 2. That the bread and wine after consecration, lose their proper substances, and are changed into the very substance of the body of Christ." And an anathema is denounced against those who affirm the contrary. Now, if you please, proceed to your proofs.

Pa. I begin with the ancient Liturgies of St. Peter, St. James, and St. Matthew.*

Pr. Are you in earnest?

Pa. Why, what is the matter?

Pr. Do not you know that these are rejected as supposititious by your own writers? And a very late and learned doctor of the Sorbonne† hath given full and clear evidences of it.

Pa. Suppose they are, yet they may be of antiquity enough, to give some competent testimony as to tradition.

Pr. No such matter; for he proves St. Peter's Liturgy to be later than the Sacramentary of St. Gregory; and so can prove nothing for the first 600 years;‡ and the Æthiopic Liturgy, or St. Matthew's, he shews to be very late. That of St. James he thinks to have been some time before the five General Councils;§ but by no means to have been St. James's.

Pa. What think you of the Acts of St. Andrew, and what he saith therein, about eating the flesh of Christ?||

Pr. I think he saith nothing to the purpose. But I am ashamed to find one, who hath so long been a minister in this Church, so extremely ignorant, as to bring these for good authorities, which are rejected with scorn by all men of learning and ingenuity among you.

Pa. I am afraid you grow angry.

Pr. I confess ignorance and confidence together, are very provoking things; especially, when a man in years pretends to leave our Church on such pitiful grounds.

Pa. But he doth produce better authorities.

Pr. If he doth, they are not to his purpose.

* Consens. Vet. p. 27.

† Nouvelle Biblioth. des Antiennes Ecclesiastiques par Ellies du Pin. 1686.

‡ P. 12.

§ P. 23.

|| Consens. p. 30.

Pa. That must be tried ; what say you to Ignatius ? I hope you allow his Epistles ?

Pr. I see no reason to the contrary. But what saith he ?

Pa. He saith, "That some heretics then would not receive the eucharist and oblations, because they will not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Christ."* And this is produced by both authors.

Pr. The persons Ignatius speaks of, were such as denied Christ to have any true body, and therefore did forbear the eucharist, because it was said to be his body. And in whatever sense it were taken, it still supposed that which they denied, *viz.* that he had a true body. For, if it were figuratively understood, it was as contrary to their doctrine, as if it were literally. For a figure must relate to a real body, as Tertullian† argued in this case. And Ignatius in the same epistle, mentions the trial Christ made of his true body, by the senses of his disciples, "Take hold of me, and handle me, and see, for I am no incorporeal dæmon ; and immediately they touched him, and were convinced." Which happened but a few days after Christ had said, "This is my body ;" and our Saviour gave a rule for judging a true body from an appearance, or spiritual substance ; "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." Therefore it is very improbable that Ignatius so soon after, should assert that Christ's true and real body was in the eucharist, where it could be neither seen nor felt ; for then he must overthrow the force of his former argument. And to what purpose did Christ say, "That a spirit had not flesh and bones, as they saw him to have ;" if a body of Christ might be so much after the manner of a spirit, as though it had flesh and bones, yet they could not possibly be discerned. But after all, suppose Ignatius doth speak of the substance of Christ's flesh, as present in the eucharist ; yet he saith not a word of the changing of the substance of the bread into the substance of Christ's body ; which was the thing to be proved.

Pa. But Justin Martyr doth speak of the change, and his words are produced by all three. And they are thus rendered in the single sheet : "For we do not receive this as common bread, or common drink, but as by the word of God, Jesus Christ, our Redeemer being made man, had both flesh and

* Consens. Veter. p. 30. Nubes Testium, p. 109.

† Tertull. c. Marcion, l. 4. c. 40.

blood for our salvation ; so also we are taught, that this food, by which our blood and flesh are by a change nourished, being consecrated by the power of the word, is the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ incarnate.”* What say you to this ?

Pr. I desire you to consider these things. 1. That Justin Martyr doth not say, that the bread and wine are by consecration changed into the individual flesh and blood, in which Christ was incarnate ; but that, as by the power of the word, Christ once had a body in the womb of the Virgin ; so by the power of the same word, upon consecration, the bread and wine do become the flesh and blood of Christ incarnate ; so that he must mean a parallel, and not the same individual body, *i. e.* that as the body in the womb became the body of Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit ; so the Holy Spirit, after consecration, makes the elements to become the flesh and blood of Christ, not by an hypostatical union, but by divine influence, as the Church is the body of Christ. And this was the true notion of the ancient Church, as to this matter, and the expressions in the Greek liturgies, to this day, confirm the same. 2. He doth not in the least imply, that the elements by this change do lose their substance ; for he mentions the nourishment of our bodies by it ; but he affirms, that notwithstanding their substance remains, yet the Divine Spirit of Christ, by its operation, doth make them become his body. For we must observe, that he attributes the body in the womb, and on the altar, to the same λόγος, or divine Word. For he did not think hypostatical union necessary to make the elements become the body of Christ, but a divine energy was sufficient, as the bodies assumed by angels are their bodies, though there be no such vital union, as there is between the soul and body of a man.

Pa. I go on to Irenæus, from whom two places are produced, one by the *Consensus Veterum*, where he saith,† “That which is bread from the earth, perceiving the call of God, now is not common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, one earthly, and the other spiritual.”

Pr. Very well ! Then there is an earthly, as well as a spiritual thing in the eucharist, *i. e.* a bodily substance and divine grace.

Pa. No ; he saith, “The earthly is the accidents.”

Pr. Doth Irenæus say so ?

Pa. No ; but he means so.

* Apol. 2.

† P. 31. Iren. l. 4. c. 34.

Pr. There is not a word to that purpose in Irenæus ; and therefore this is downright prevarication. I grant Irenæus doth suppose a change made by divine grace ; but not by destroying the elements, but by superadding divine grace to them ; and so the bread becomes the body of Christ, and the wine his blood.

Pa. The other place in Irenæus* is, where he saith, “that as the bread receiving the word of God, is made the eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ, so also our bodies being nourished by it, and laid in the earth, and there dissolved, will arise at their time,” &c.

Pr. What do you prove from this place ?

Pa. That the same divine power is seen in making the eucharist the body and blood of Christ, which is to be in the resurrection of the body.

Pr. But doth this prove, that the substance of the bread is changed into the substance of Christ’s body ?

Pa. Why not ?

Pr. I will give you a plain argument against it ; for he saith, “our bodies are nourished by the body and blood of Christ.” Do you think that Irenæus believed the substance of Christ’s body was turned into the substance of our bodies, in order to their nourishment ? No ; he explained himself just before in the same place : *De calice qui est sanguis ejus, nutritur ; et de pane qui est corpus ejus, augetur* : so that he attributes the nourishment to the bread and wine ; and therefore must suppose the substance of them to remain, since it is impossible a substantial nourishment should be made by mere accidents. And withal, observe, he saith expressly, “that the bread is the body of Christ ;” which your best writers (such as Bellarmine, Suarez and Vasquez) say, is inconsistent with transubstantiation.

Pa. My next author is Tertullian, who is produced by the *Consensus Veterum*, and the single sheet, but omitted by the *Nubes Testium* ; but the other proves, that bread, which was the figure of Christ’s body in the Old Testament, now in the New, is changed into the real and true body of Christ.

Pr. This is a bold attempt upon Tertullian, to prove that by the figure of Christ’s body, he means his true and real body. For his words are,† “*Acceptum panem et distributum Discipulis Corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est Corpus meum*

* Iren. l. 5. c. 11.

† Cont. Marcion. l. 4. c. 40.

dicendo, id est, figura Corporis mea. He took the bread, and gave it to his disciples, and made it his body, saying, This is my body, *i. e.* this is the figure of my body." How can those men want proofs, that can draw transubstantiation from these words, which are so plain against it?

Pa. You are mistaken; Tertullian by figure, meant, it was a figure in the Old Testament, but it was now his real body.

Pr. You put very odd figures upon Tertullian. I appeal to any reasonable man, whether by the latter words he doth not explain the former? For he puts the sense upon *Corpus meum* by adding *dicendo* to them, *i. e.* This is the meaning of that speech, when he called the bread his body.

Pa. Doth not Tertullian say, "That it had not been the figure, unless it had been the truth?"

Pr. This is again perverting his words, which are, "*Figuratum non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset Corpus;*" *i. e.* "there had been no place for a figure of Christ's body, unless Christ had a true body." For he was proving against Marcion, that Christ had a true body; and among other arguments, he produces this from the figure of his body, which he not only mentions here, but in other places; where he saith, "that Christ gave the figure of his body to the bread;" which cannot relate to any figure of the Old Testament.*

Pa. But doth not Tertullian say afterwards, "that the bread was the figure of Christ's body in the Old Testament?"

Pr. What then? He had two designs against Maricon; one to prove that Christ had a true body, which he doth here from the figure of his body: and the other, that there was a correspondency of both Testaments: and for that purpose he shews, that the bread in Jeremiah, was the figure of Christ's body.

Pa. But the author of the single sheet cites another place of Tertullian, where he saith, "that our flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that our soul may be filled with God."†

Pr. By the body and blood of Christ, he means there, the elements, with divine grace going along with them; as appears by his design, which is to shew how the body and soul are joined together in sacramental rites. "The flesh is washed, and the soul is cleansed; the flesh is anointed, and the soul consecrated; the flesh is signed, and the soul confirmed; the flesh

* Cont. Marcion. l. 3. c. 19. l. 5. c. 8.

† De Resur. c. 8

hath hands laid upon it, and the soul enlightened ; the flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be filled with God.” Now, unless Tertullian meant the elements, the parallel doth not proceed ; for all the rest are spoken of the external symbols ; and so this doth not at all contradict what he saith elsewhere, no more than the passage in the 2nd book *ad Uxorem* doth : for there he speaks of Christ, with respect to the invisible grace, as he doth here, as to the outward symbols.

Pa. Clemens Alexandrinus saith,* “ that Melchizedek gave bread and wine in figure of the eucharist.”

Pr. And what then ? What is this to transubstantiation ?

Pa. Origen saith,† “ When you eat and drink the body and blood of our Lord, then our Lord enters under your roof,” &c.

Pr. Are you sure that Origen said this ? But suppose he did, must he enter with his flesh and bones, and not much rather by a peculiar presence of his grace ? For is it not Origen who so carefully distinguishes the typical and symbolical body of Christ, from the divine word, and so expressly mentions the material part of the elements after consecration, which pass into the draught, &c. Is all this meant of the accidents only ?‡

Pa. What say you to St. Cyprian de Cœna Domini ?

Pr. I beg your pardon, sir ; this is now known and acknowledged to be a late author, in comparison, and cannot come within your six hundred years ; and therefore is not ancient enough to be considered.

Pa. But in his genuine writings, he speaks of those who offered violence to the body and blood of our Lord in the eucharist.§

Pr. And I pray what follows ? That the substance of the elements is gone. Where lies the consequence ? But St. Cyprian saith, “ the bread was his body, and the wine his blood ;” therefore their substance must remain.||

Pa. What say you to Eusebius Emesenus ?

Pr. That he is not within our compass ; and withal, that he is a known counterfeit.

Pa. I perceive you are hard to please.

Pr. You say very true, as to supposititious writers.

Pa. I hope you have more reverence for the Council of Nice.

* Strom. 4.

† Hom. 5. in divers. loc.

‡ Comment. in Matth. 15.

§ Cypr. de Lapsis.

|| Epist. 63. N. 6.

Pr. But where doth that speak of transubstantiation?

Pa. It calls the eucharist the body of Christ.

Pr. And so doth the Church of England; therefore that holds transubstantiation. I pray bring no more such testimonies, which prove nothing but what we hold.

Pa. I perceive you have a mind to cut me short.

Pr. Not in the least, where you offer anything to the purpose. But I pray spare those who only affirm, that the eucharist is the body and blood of Christ after consecration. For I acknowledge it was the language of the Church, especially in the fourth century, when the names of the elements were hardly mentioned to the catechumens; and all the discourses of the Fathers to them, tended to heighten the devotion and esteem of the eucharist. By which observation, you may easily understand the meaning of the eloquent writers of that age, who speak with so much mystery and obscurity about it. If you have any that go beyond lofty expressions, and rhetorical flights, I pray produce them.

Pa. I perceive you are afraid of St. Greg. Nazianzen, and St. Basil, but especially St. Chrysostom, you fence so much beforehand against eloquent men.

Pr. As to the other two, there is nothing material alleged by any to this purpose; but St. Chrysostom, I confess, doth speak very lofty things concerning the sacrament in his popular discourses, but yet nothing that doth prove transubstantiation.

Pa. What think you of his Homilies, 51 and 83, on St. Matth. xxvi; Homily on St. John xxiv; Homily on 1st to the Corinthians; the Homilies on Philogonius and the Cross? Are there not strange things in them concerning the eucharist? About eating Christ, and seeing him lie before them slain on the altar; about touching his body there, and the Holy Spirit, with an innumerable host, hovering over what is there proposed, with much more to that purpose.*

Pr. You need not to recite more; for I yield that St. Chrysostom delighted (in the highest flights of his eloquence on this subject, in his Homilies, and he tells for what reason) to excite the reverence and devotion of the people. But yet himself doth afford us a sufficient key to these expressions, if we attend to these things, concerning his manner of speaking.

1. That he affirms those things which no side can allow to

* *Nubes Testium*, p. 120, &c. *Consens. Veter.* p. 54, &c.

be literally understood. As when he so often speaks of our seeing and touching Christ upon the altar, which is inconsistent with the doctrine of transubstantiation: "For Christ is utterly invisible on the altar, even by divine power," saith Suarez.* "He is invisible in the sacrament," saith Bellarmine: and he saith also, "that he cannot be touched." What then is to be said to such expressions of St. Chrysostom?

"Behold thou seest him, thou touchest him, thou eatest him."†

"It is not his sacrament only which is offered us to touch, but himself. What if you do not hear his voice, do you not see him lying before you?"‡

"Behold Christ lying before you slain."§

"Christ lies on the holy table, as a sacrifice slain for us."||

"Thou swearest upon the holy table where Christ lies slain."¶

"When thou seest our Lord lying on the table, and the priest praying, and the bystanders purpled with his blood."**

"See the love of Christ; he doth not only suffer himself to be seen by those who desire it, but to be touched and eaten, and our teeth to be fixed in his flesh."††

Now these expressions are on all sides granted to be literally absurd and impossible; and therefore we must say of him, as Bonaventure once said of St. Augustine, "*Plus dicit sanctus et minus vult intelligi*;" we must make great allowance for such expressions, or you must hold a Capernaïtical sense.

And it is denied by yourselves, that Christ is actually slain upon the altar; and therefore you yield, that such expressions are to be figuratively understood.

2. That he lets fall many things, in such discourses, which do give light to the rest: as,

1. "That flesh is improperly taken when applied to the eucharist."‡‡

2. He calls the sacrament, "the mystical body and blood of Christ."§§

3. "That the eating of Christ's flesh is not to be understood literally, but spiritually."|||

* Disp. 53. sect. 4. De Euch. 1. 1. c. 2.

† Hom. 83. in Mat.

§ In Hebr. Hom. 14.

¶ Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 15.

†† In Joh. Hom. 45.

§§ Hom. de Resur. tom. 5.

‡ Hom. 51. in Mat.

|| In Rom. Hom. 8.

** De Sacerd. 1. 3.

‡‡ Hom. in Gal. c. 5.

||| Hom. 46. in Joh.

4. He opposes "Christ's sacramental presence, and real corporeal presence to each other."*

5. He still exhorts "the communicants to look upwards towards heaven."†

And now if you lay these things together, this eloquent Father will not, with all his flights, come near to transubstantiation.

Pa. No! in one place he asserts the substance of the elements to be lost.‡

Pr. Thanks to the Latin translators; for the Greek word ἀποσιάζειν, as the critics observe, doth not signify *to destroy*, but *to refine*, and purify a substance. But I do not rely upon this; for the plain answer is, that St. Chrysostom doth not there speak of the elements upon consecration, but what becomes of them, after they are taken down into the stomach. St. Chrysostom thought it would lessen the people's reverence and devotion, if they passed into the draught, as Origen affirmed; and therefore he started another opinion, *viz.*: "That as wax, when it is melted in the fire, throws off no superfluities but it passes indiscernibly away; so the elements, or mysteries, as he calls them, pass imperceptibly into the substance of the body, and so are consumed together with it. Therefore," saith he, "approach with reverence, not supposing that you receive the divine body from a man, but as with tongs of fire from the seraphims:" which the author of the *Consensus Veterum* translates, "but fire from the tongues of seraphims." St. Chrysostom's words are, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Σεραφίμ τη λαβίδι τοῦ πυρός:§ and the sense is, that the divine body (*i. e.* the eucharist, after consecration, being by the "Divine Spirit made the divine body," as in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, there is a particular prayer for the Holy Ghost to come, and so make the bread to be the divine body, or the holy body of Christ,) is to be taken, not with their mouths,|| which can only receive the elements, but after a divine manner, as with tongs of fire from seraphims; by which he expresses the spiritual acts of faith and devotion, as most agreeable to that Divine Spirit which makes the elements to become the holy body of Christ. But that St. Chrysostom did truly and firmly believe the substance of the bread to remain after consecration, I have already proved from his epistle to Cæsarius.

* Hom. 28. in 1. Ep. ad Corinth.

† Hom. 24. in 1. ad Corinth. Hom. 22. in Hebr.

‡ Hom. de Pœnit. tom. 6.

§ P. 56.

|| Eucholog. p. 77.

Pa. I pray let us not go backward, having so much ground to run over still.

Pr. I am content, if you will produce only those who speak of the change of substance, and not such as only mention the body and blood of Christ after consecration, which I have already told you, was the language of the Church; and therefore all those testimonies are of no force in this matter.

Pa. Then I must quit the greatest part of what remains, as Optatus, Gaudentius, St. Jerome, and others; but I have some still left which will set you hard. What say you then to Gregory Nyssen,* who saith, “the sanctified bread is changed into the body of the Word of God.” And he takes off your answer of a mystical body; for he puts the question, “How the same body can daily be distributed to the faithful throughout the world, it remaining whole and entire in itself?”

Pr. Gregory Nyssen was a man of fancy, and he shewed it in that catechetical discourse: however, Fronto Ducæus thought it a notable place to prove transubstantiation, which I wonder at, if he attended to the design of it; which was to shew, that as our bodies, by eating, became subject to corruption, so by eating they become capable of immortality; and this he saith, “must be by receiving an immortal body into our bodies, such as the body of Christ was: but then,” saith he, “how could that body, which is to remain whole in itself, be distributed to all the faithful over the whole earth?” He answers, by saying, “That our bodies do consist of bread and wine, which are their proper nourishment; and Christ’s body being like ours, that was so too; which by the union with the word of God, was changed into a divine dignity.” But what is this to the eucharist, you may say? He goes on therefore, “so I believe the sanctified bread, by the power of the word of God, to be changed into the body of God the Word.” Not into that individual body, but after the same manner, by a presence of the λόγος, or God the Word in it; and that this was his meaning, doth evidently appear by what follows: “For,” saith he, “that body (*viz.* to which he was incarnate) was sanctified by the inhabitation of the λόγος, dwelling in the flesh; therefore, as the bread was then changed into a divine dignity in the body, so it is now; and the bread is changed into the body of the λόγος (not of Jesus Christ), as it was said by the Word, This is my body. And so by receiving this

* Greg. Nyssen. Orat. Catech. 37.

divine body into our bodies, they are made capable of immortality." And this is the true account of Gregory Nyssen's meaning, which if it prove any thing, proves an impanation, rather than transubstantiation.

Pa. But Hilary's testimony cannot be so avoided; who saith,* "That we as truly eat Christ's flesh in the sacrament, as he was truly incarnate; and that we are to judge of this, not by carnal reason, but by the words of Christ, who said, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Pr. I do not deny this to be Hilary's sense. But yet this proves nothing like to transubstantiation. For it amounts to no more than a real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament; and you can make no argument from hence, unless you can prove that the body of Christ cannot be present, unless the substance of the bread be destroyed, which is more than can be done, or than Hilary imagined. All that he aimed at, was to prove a real union between Christ and his people, "That Christ was in them more than by mere consent;" and to prove this, he lays hold of those words of our Saviour, "My flesh is meat indeed," &c. But the substantial change of the bread into the substance of Christ's body, signifies nothing to his purpose; and Bellarmine never so much as mentions Hilary in his proofs of transubstantiation, but only for the real presence. But I must add something more, *viz.* that Hilary was one of the first who drew any argument from the literal sense of John vi. I do not say, who did by way of accommodation apply them to the sacrament, which others might do before him. But yet, there are some of the eldest Fathers, who do wholly exclude a literal sense, as Tertullian† looked on it, "as an absurdity, that Christ should be thought truly to give his flesh to eat. *Quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset.*" And Origen saith,‡ "It is a killing letter, if those words be literally understood." But this is to run into another debate; whereas our business is about transubstantiation. If you have any more, let us now examine their testimonies.

Pa. What say you then to St. Ambrose,§ who speaks home to the business, for he makes the change to be above nature, and into the body of Christ, born of the Virgin: there are long citations out of him, but in these words lies the whole strength of them.

* Nubes Testium, p. 124.

† Tertul. de Resur. Carn. c. 37.

‡ Orig. Hom. 7. in Levit.

§ Ambros. de his qui initiantur, c. 9.

Pr. I answer several things for clearing of his meaning.

1. That St. Ambrose doth parallel the change in the eucharist with that in baptism; and to prove regeneration therein, he argues from the miraculous conception of Christ in the womb of the Virgin;* but in baptism nobody supposes the substance of the water to be taken away; and therefore it cannot hold as to the other, from the supernatural change, which may be only with respect to such a divine influence, which it had not before consecration.
2. He doth purposely talk obscurely and mystically about this matter, as the Fathers were wont to do to those who were to be admitted to these mysteries. Sometimes one would think he meant that the elements are changed into Christ's individual body born of the Virgin; and yet presently after, he distinguishes between the true flesh of Christ, which was crucified and buried, and the sacrament of his flesh. If this were the same, what need any distinction? And that this *sacramentum carnis*, is meant of the eucharist, is plain by what follows; for he cites Christ's words, "This is my body."
3. He best explains his own meaning, when he saith, not long after, "That the body of Christ in the sacrament is a spiritual body, or a body produced by the Divine Spirit;" and so he parallels it with that spiritual food, which the Israelites did eat in the wilderness: and no man will say, that the substance of the manna was then lost. And since your authors make the same St. Ambrose to have written the book *De Sacramentis*,† there is a notable passage therein, which helps to explain this; for there he saith expressly, "*Non iste panis est qui vadit in corpus, sed ille panis vitæ æternæ qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit.*" "It is not the bread which passes into the body, but the bread of eternal life, which strengthens the substance of our soul." Where he not only calls it bread after consecration, which goes to our nourishment; but he distinguishes it from the bread of eternal life, which supports the soul, which must be understood of divine grace, and not of any bodily substance.

Pa. I perceive you will not leave us one Father of the whole number.

Pr. Not one. And I hope this gives an incomparable advantage to the doctrine of the Trinity, in point of tradition, above transubstantiation; when I have not only proved, that the greatest of the Fathers expressly denied it, but that there

* C. 3.

† De Sacram. l. 5. c. 4.

is not one in the whole number who affirmed it. For although there were some difference in the way of explaining how the eucharist was the body and blood of Christ; yet not one of them hitherto produced, doth give any countenance to your doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Council of Trent declared to have been the constant belief of the Church in all ages; which is so far from being true, that there is as little ground to believe that, as transubstantiation itself. And so much as to this debate, concerning the comparing the doctrine of the Trinity and transubstantiation, in point of tradition; if you have any thing to say further, as to Scripture and reason, I shall be ready to give you satisfaction the next opportunity.

PART II.

Pr. I hope you are now at leisure to proceed with your parallel between the doctrine of the Trinity and transubstantiation, as to Scripture and reason.

Pa. Yes, and am resolved to make good all that I have said, as to both those.

Pr. And if you do, I will yield the cause.

Pa. I begin with Scripture. And the whole dispute as to both, depends on this: Whether the Scripture is to be understood literally or figuratively. If literally, then transubstantiation stands upon equal terms with the Trinity; if figuratively, then the Trinity can no more be proved from Scripture, than transubstantiation.

Pr. As though there might not be reason for a figurative sense in one place, and a literal in another.

Pa. It seems then, you resolve it into reason.

Pr. And I pray, into what would you resolve it? Into no reason?

Pa. Into the authority of the Church.

Pr. Without any reason?

Pa. No. There may be reason for that authority, but not for the thing which I believe upon it.

Pr. Then you believe the doctrine of the Trinity, merely because the Church tells you it is the literal sense of Scripture which you are to follow. But suppose a man sees no reason for this authority of your Church (as for my part, I do not);

have you no reason to convince such a one that he ought to believe the Trinity ?

Pa. Not I. For I think men are bound to believe as the Church teaches them, and for that reason.

Pr. What is it, I pray, to believe ?

Pa. To believe, is to give our assent to what God reveals.

Pr. And hath God revealed the doctrine of the Trinity to the Church in this age ?

Pa. No ; it was revealed long ago.

Pr. How doth it appear ?

Pa. By the Scripture sensed by the Church.

Pr. But whence come you to know that the Church is to give the sense of the Scriptures ? Is it from the Scripture, or not ?

Pa. From the Scripture, doubtless, or else we could not believe upon the Church's testimony.

Pr. But suppose the question be, about the sense of these places which relate to the Church's authority, how can a man come to the certain sense of them ?

Pa. Hold a little, I see whither you are leading me ; you would fain draw me into a snare, and have me say, I believe the sense of Scripture from the authority of the Church, and the authority of the Church from the sense of Scripture.

Pr. Do you not say so in plain terms ?

Pa. Give me leave to answer for myself. I say in the case of the Church's authority, I believe the sense of Scripture, without relying on the Church's authority.

Pr. And why not as well in any other ? Why not as to the Trinity, which to my understanding, is much plainer there, than the Church's authority ?

Pa. That is strange : Is not the Church often spoken of in Scripture ? "Tell the Church." "Upon this rock will I build my Church," &c.

Pr. But we are not about the word Church, which is no doubt there, but the infallible authority of the Church ; and whether that be more clear in the Scripture than the doctrine of the Trinity.

Pa. I see you have a mind to change your discourse, and to run off from the Trinity to the Church's authority in matters of faith ; which is a beaten subject.

Pr. Your Church doth not tell you so ; and therefore you may, upon your own grounds, be deceived ; and I assure you that you are so ; for I intended only to shew you, that for

points of faith we must examine and compare Scripture ourselves, and our faith must rest on divine revelation therein contained.

Pa. Then you think the Trinity can be proved from Scripture?

Pr. Or else I should never believe it.

Pa. But those places of Scripture you go upon may bear a figurative sense, as John x. 30, "I and my Father are one;" and 1 John v. 7, "And these three are one;" and if they do so, you can never prove the Trinity from them.

Pr. I say, therefore, that the doctrine of the Trinity doth not depend merely on these places, but on very many others, which help to the true sense of these; but transubstantiation depends upon one single expression, "This is my body," which relates to a figurative thing in the sacrament; and which hath other expressions joined with it, which are owned to be figurative; "This cup is the new testament in my blood;" and which, in the literal sense, cannot prove transubstantiation, as your own writers confess, and which is disproved by those places of Scripture, which assert the bread and the fruit of the vine to remain after consecration.

Pa. Shew the literal sense as to the Trinity to be necessary; for I perceive that you would fain go off again.

Pr. Will you promise to hold close to the argument yourself?

Pa. You need not fear me.

Pr. I pray tell me, were there not false religions in the world when Christ came into it to plant the true religion?

Pa. Yes; but how far is this from the business?

Pr. Have a little patience; did not Christ design by his doctrine to root out those false religions?

Pa. That is evident from Scripture and Church history.

Pr. Then Christ's religion and theirs were inconsistent.

Pa. And what then?

Pr. Wherein did this inconsistency lie?

Pa. The Gentiles worshipped false gods instead of the true one.

Pr. Then the Christian religion teaches the worship of the true God instead of the false ones.

Pa. Who doubts of that?

Pr. Then it cannot teach the worship of a false god instead of the true one.

Pa. A false god is one that is set up in opposition to the true God, as the gods of the heathens were.

Pr. Is it lawful by the Christian doctrine, to give proper divine worship to a creature?

Pa. I think not; for Christ said, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:" which our Church understands of proper divine worship.

Pr. But the Scripture requires proper divine worship to be given to Christ; which is to require proper divine worship to be given to a creature, if Christ be not true God by nature.

Pa. May not God communicate his own worship to him?

Pr. But God hath said, "He will not give his glory to another," Isa. xlii. 8. And the reason is considerable, which is there given; "I am the Lord, that is my name;" which shews that none but the true Jehovah is capable of divine worship. For adoration is done to God only on the account of his incommunicable perfections, and therefore the reason of divine worship cannot reach to any creature.

Pa. Not without God's will and pleasure. But may not God advance a mere creature to that dignity, as to require divine worship to be given to him by his fellow-creatures?

Pr. Wherein lies the nature of that which you call proper divine worship?

Pa. In a due esteem of God in our minds, as the first cause and last end of his creatures, and such acts as are agreeable thereto.

Pr. Then proper divine worship doth suppose an esteem of God as infinitely above his creatures; and how then is it possible for us to give the same worship to God and to a creature? For if the distance be infinite between God and his creatures, and we must judge of things as they are, then we must in our minds suppose a creature to be infinitely distant from God; and if we do so, how is it possible to give the same divine worship, in this sense, to God, and to any creature?

Pa. And what now would you infer from hence?

Pv. Do not you see already? *viz.* that God cannot be supposed to allow divine worship to be given to Christ, if he were a mere creature; and therefore since such divine worship is required by the Christian doctrine, it follows, that those expressions which speak of his being "one with the Father," cannot be figuratively understood.

Pa. But where is it, that such divine worship is required to

be given to Christ in Scripture? For, according to my principles, the Church is to set the bounds and measures of divine worship, and to declare what worship is due to God; what to Christ; what to saints and angels; what to men upon earth; what to images, sacraments, &c. And if we depart from this rule, I know not where we shall fix.

Pr. I pray tell me, doth the difference between God and his creatures, depend on the will of the Church?

Pa. No.

Pr. Is it then in the Church's power to give that to a creature, which belongs only to God?

Pa. I think not.

Pr. Who then is to be judge what belongs to God, and what not? God or the Church?

Pa. God himself, if he pleases.

Pr. Then our business is to search what his will and pleasure is in this matter, by reading the Scriptures, wherein his will is contained: and there we find it expressed, "That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father," John v. 23. "Let all the angels of God worship him," Heb. i. 6. "Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever," Rev. v. 13. "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth," &c. Phil. ii. 10. If it were God's great design, by the Christian doctrine, to restore in the world a due sense of the infinite distance between God and his creatures; could anything be more repugnant to it, than in the same doctrine to advance a creature to a participation of the same divine honour with himself? So that in plain truth, the idolatry of the world lay only in a bad choice of the creatures they were to worship, and not in giving proper divine worship to a creature; for that Christianity itself not only allows, but requires, on supposition that Christ were God merely by office, and was originally a creature, as we are. But I pray observe the force of the Apostle's argument, speaking of the Gentile idolatry; he saith it lay in this, "that they did service unto them, which by nature are no gods," Gal. iv. 8.

Pa. You know, I must now personate the Anti-Trinitarian; and he answers, That by *nature* no more is implied than *truly* and *really*, *i. e.* God did not advance those creatures among the Gentiles to that worship and honour, which he hath done Christ.

Pr. Then you make it lawful by the Gospel to believe Christ to be a mere creature, and at the same time to give him divine worship, which supposes him not to be a creature ; and so you must believe him to be a creature, and not to be a creature, at the same time.

Pa. How do you make that appear ?

Pr. From your own words ; for you say, proper divine worship lies in a due esteem of God in our minds, as the first cause and last end, and in actions agreeable thereto ; then to give divine worship to God, we must believe him to be above all creatures as to his nature and being ; and therefore to give Christ divine worship, must imply our believing him not to be a creature, and to be a creature at the same time.

Pa. But the meaning of divine worship here, must not then relate to acts of the mind, but to outward acts of adoration in the Church.

Pr. Were the Gentiles guilty of idolatry in that respect, or not ?

Pa. Yes ; but not those, whom God requires to worship in such a manner.

Pr. Then the sin of Gentile-idolatry lay only in giving divine worship to a creature without God's command ; which lessens it to that degree, as to make will-worship and idolatry the same ; and to blame the Apostles for making such a dreadful sin of it, and dissuading Christians so much from returning to the practice of it :* for they had the privilege of giving divine worship to a creature by God's command, which others were damned for doing without a command ; which makes the Christian religion not to appear so reasonable as the Anti-Trinitarians contend it is. But here are four foul mistakes in point of reason, which they are guilty of. (1.) In making the sin of idolatry so arbitrary a thing ; which depends not on the nature of the object which is worshipped, but on the will and pleasure of God. (2.) In making the Gentiles guilty of a great sin, merely in wanting a divine command, which was out of their power. (3.) In making the Christian religion to set up the worship of a creature, when its design was to root out idolatry. (4.) In making a fictitious God, or a creature to be advanced to the throne of God. Which I think is far more contradictory to reason, than a Trinity of Persons in the unity of the same nature. For

* Rom. i. 21, 23, 24. 1 Cor. x. 7, 14. 1 John v. 21.

nothing can be more absurd than to make that to be God, which wants all the essential attributes and perfections of God; as every creature must do: such as self-existence, eternity, independency, immensity, omnipotency, &c. What a contradiction is it, to suppose a weak, impotent, depending, confined, created God? And such every creature must be in its nature, or else it is no creature. I do not at all wonder to find the Socinians after this, to lessen the natural knowledge of God, and his infinite perfections, both as to power and knowledge; for it was their concernment to bring the notion of God as low as possible, that a creature might be in the nearer capacity of being made God. But those who consider and know what God is, and what he must be, if he be God, will find far greater difficulty in making man to be God, than in believing God to be made man. For this implies no greater difficulty, than merely as to our conception, how an infinite being can be so united to a finite, as to become one person; which implies no repugnancy, but only something above our capacity to comprehend. And we confess ourselves puzzled in the manner of conceiving how a finite spirit, which can pass through a body, can be so united to it, as to make a man by that union; yet we all acknowledge the truth of this. But to suppose a creature capable of being made God, is to overthrow the essential difference between God and his creatures, and the infinite distance between them. Which is of very pernicious consequence, as to the great ends of the Christian religion, which were to reform the world, and to restore the distinction between God and his creatures; which by the prevalency of idolatry, was almost lost in the world; the Supreme God being hardly discerned in such a crowd of created and fictitious gods. And this very argument is enough to turn my stomach against Socinianism or Arianism.

Pa. I had thought all men of sense among you had been Socinians; I have often heard them charged with being so.

Pr. You see how grossly you are deceived, notwithstanding your pretence to infallibility. I do not pretend to any deep reach, but I see reason enough to be no Socinian.

Pa. Let us return to our matter in hand. What say you to those texts which are said to be inconsistent with the literal sense of those before-mentioned, which relate to the unity between Father and Son.

Pr. What texts do you mean?

Pa. What say you to John x. from the 30th to the 39th?

Pr. I wonder what it is produced for.

Pa. It is said, John x. 30, "I and my Father are one;" now it is highly unreasonable to interpret these words literally, because of those which follow.

Pr. How doth that appear? For ver. 31, it is said, "that the Jews took up stones to stone him:" which shews, that they looked on him as speaking blasphemy. But what blasphemy was it for Christ to declare an unity of consent between him and his Father; which in truth is nothing, but doing his Father's will? Therefore it is plain that the Jews did apprehend more in those words of our Saviour. And they explain themselves, ver. 33, what they understood by them, "Because that thou being a man, makest thyself God." Which shews that they thought not an unity of consent, but of nature, was meant.

Pa. But Christ's answer shews, that he speaks only of a God by office, and not by nature, ver. 34, "Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are gods?"

Pr. I pray go on, and see how Christ argues, ver. 35, 36, "If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken; say ye of him, whom the Father hath sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?"

Pa. This only shews that Christ had greater reason to be called God, but not that he was so by nature.

Pr. I pray go on still, ver. 37, 38, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him."

Pa. Is it not said elsewhere, "That he that keepeth his commandments, dwelleth in him, and he in him?" 1 John iii. 24. Would you hence infer an unity of nature between Christ and believers?

Pr. I do not lay the weight on the phrase, but as it is the conclusion of the dispute between Christ and the Jews. And it ought to be observed, that this was the end of the third conference between Christ and the Jews, upon this argument. The first was John v. and then from Christ's saying, "The Father worketh hitherto, and I work," ver. 17, the Jews inferred, ver. 18, "that he made himself equal with God." In the second conference, John viii. he said, "Before Abraham was, I am," ver. 58. "And then the Jews took up stones to cast at him." After this, followed this third conference,

John x. and this runs again into the same point, "That he, being a man, made himself God." And these conferences were all public, in or near the temple, and this last was in Solomon's Porch, John x. 23, a place of great resort, and near the place where the Sanhedrim sat, who were the judges in the case of blasphemy. Now the force of my argument from hence, lies in these things :

1. That Christ certainly knew, that the Jews did think by his discourse, "that he made himself equal with God."

2. That if it were not true, it was notorious blasphemy, and so esteemed by the Jews.

3. That such a mistake ought to have been presently corrected, and in the plainest manner ; as we find it was done by St. Paul, when the men of Lystra said, "the gods are come down to us in the likeness of men," for he ran in presently among them, and said, "We are men of like passions with you," Acts xiv. 11, 15. It is impossible for me to think, that if Christ had known himself to be a mere man, he would have suffered the Jews to have run away with such a mistake as this, without giving them the clearest and plainest information ; whereas in all his answers he vindicates himself, and endeavours rather to fasten those impressions upon them, as appears by this conclusion of the last conference, "That ye may know and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him." Doth this look like correcting a dangerous mistake in the Jews ? And is it not rather a justification of that sense, which they took his words in ? And in the first conference, John v. our Saviour is so far from doing as St. Paul did, that he challenges divine honour as due to himself, "That all men should honour the Son, as they honour the Father," ver. 23. From whence it follows, that Christ must be charged as one, who being a mere man, did affect divine honour ; or else, that being God, as well as man, he looked on it as justly due to him. I pray tell me what sense do your friends, the Socinians, make of those words of St. Paul, Phil. ii. 6, 7, "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation," &c.

Pa. The sense they give, is this, that he did not make a show or ostentation of his own greatness, but studiously concealed it, and therein shewed his great humility.

Pr. But is there any greatness like that of divine honour ? And yet this he challenged to himself.

Pa. But he knew what the Father designed him for, and so spake those things by way of prediction.

Pr. He knew no creature could deserve divine worship, and he delivered that as part of his own doctrine; and therefore those words, where he is said "to make himself equal with God," must be understood of nature, and not of office.

Pa. But St. John xvii. 22, saith, that Christ prayed to his Father, for his disciples, "that they may be one, as we are one;" and that is not by unity of nature.

Pr. I grant it. But our Saviour there speaks of a true, but a lower kind of unity; or else the Socinians must think every believer as capable of divine honour, as Christ himself, if they take those words strictly, "that they may be one, as we are one."

Pa. St. Paul saith, "He that planteth, and he that watereth, is one," 1 Cor. iii. 8.

Pr. Who doubts but there are other sorts of unities, besides that of nature? But doth this prove that there is no unity of nature between the Father and the Son? If we have no better arguments against transubstantiation, we will give over disputing.

Pa. I know you have other arguments for the Trinity, but they prove as little, without the authority of the Church; as from those places where Christ is called God, as John i. 1, 2. Rom. ix. 5, &c.

Pr. And I think the argument from those places very good and strong, especially from John i. 1, 2, 3, and it seems directly contrary to the whole design of Scripture to call any one "God over all, blessed for evermore," as Christ is called, Rom. ix. 5, but he that is God by nature.

Pa. How do you prove that John i. 1, relates to anything beyond the beginning of the Gospel, and that Christ the Word, was before John the Baptist's preaching.

Pr. I desire any one to read the text impartially, and he will find the Socinian sense to be unnatural, forced, obscure and *jejune*, proving a thing of no moment at that time; but the sense we give to be strong, weighty, consistent, and of very great consequence at that time, when the Cerinthians denied the divinity of Christ. The sentences are short; the words lofty and significant; the manner of beginning unusual: so that any one would expect some great and extraordinary matter to be said in these few verses; but what a frustration were this, if after all, they intended no more, than that although

John Baptist preached in public before Christ, yet that Christ was in being before that? Which is a sense so mean, so remote from the occasion of his writing, as it is delivered by the ancients, that nothing but a miserable necessity could make men of wit and subtlety to put such a sense upon St. John's words.

Pa. But they deny there was any such occasion of St. John's writing, as the Cerinthians' heresy at that time.

Pr. I know Socinus doth so; but he might as well have denied that there was any such person as Cerinthus. And I think the Cerinthian heresy not only to have been the occasion of St. John's writing; but that the understanding of it, gives the greatest and truest light to the words of the Evangelist, shewing the force and importance of them.

Pa. Wherein, I pray, did that heresy consist?

Pr. I shall not meddle with other parts of it, but only what relates to the present subject; and that lay in these things:

1. That there was a supreme and unknown Father, who was before the beginning, and therefore they called him *προαρχήν*, who was the fountain of all emanations. Iren. l. 1. c. 1. 19.

2. That the world was not made by him, but by a power at a distance from him, called Demiurgus. Iren. l. 1. c. 25. And in the Egyptian school, where Cerinthus was educated, the *λόγος*, Word, was one of the intermediate emanations between the Father and the Demiurgus, Iren. l. 1. c. 23.

3. That this world was in a state of darkness and confusion, as to the supreme Father of all; only some few had some beams of light from him, by which they knew him.

4. That Jesus was a mere man, born as other men are, of Joseph and Mary, but of extraordinary goodness, wisdom, and sanctity.

5. That the supreme Father, at his baptism, did send down a divine power upon him, in the shape of a dove, which enabled him to declare the unknown Father, and to work miracles, which returned to its own *πλήρωμα*, or *fulness* above, when Jesus suffered.

This is a short scheme of that heresy, as delivered by the ancient Fathers. And now let any one compare St. John's words with it, and he will find his design was to counterminish this heresy by two things:

1. That the *λόγος*, Word, was eternal. For the Cerinthians said, the *λόγος* was not in the beginning, but made a great

space of time between the eternal being of the Father, and the emanation of the λόγος, wherein he was in perfect silence, as Irenæus expresses it (1. 1. c. 1.). And so "*in the beginning,*" doth imply the eternity of the Word. But that is not all, for he saith, "It was with God, and was God, and was the Demiurgus, or the Maker of the world, and the revealer of God to mankind," John i. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10. And so there was no place for those several emanations between God and the λόγος and Demiurgus, as the Cerinthians said.

2. That the λόγος, or Word, was incarnate, which he affirms, ver. 14, "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," &c. and was "the only begotten Son of the Father;" and so he not only cuts off the other emanations, but declares that Jesus was far from being a mere man. And to this purpose, he brings in the testimony of John Baptist, ver. 15, and applies what he had said to the person of Jesus Christ, ver. 17. Now this being St. John's design, his words afford a demonstration to us of the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, when he saith, "The Word was made flesh."

Pa. But doth not the Scripture in other places imply, that there is a subordination in Christ to his Father, which is not consistent with such an equality of nature? see Heb. i. 8, 9. 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5; xv. 27, 28. Rev. iii. 12.

Pr. The first place is a proof for the divinity of Christ; for the words are, "But unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," &c. It is true, in the next verse, it is said with respect to his office, "Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee," &c. But we do not deny that Christ was anointed as Mediator, and in that respect, God was his God; but doth this prove that he that is Mediator, cannot have a divine nature in conjunction with the human?

The second place, I suppose, is mistaken, 1 Cor. viii. not 4 and 5, but 6th verse, "But unto us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." And this is one of the strongest holds of the Socinians. But two considerations will take off the seeming force of it.

(1.) That the Apostle, in his disputes with the Gentile idolaters, concerning whom he speaks, ver. 4, 5, doth utterly deny any divinity in the beings they worshipped instead of God, when he saith, "An idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one." He knew very well that they worshipped many, ver. 5, "As there be gods many,

and lords many" among them ; " but unto us (Christians) there is but one God, and one Lord ;" *i. e.* we have but one supreme God, to whom we give divine worship; and instead of the multitude of mediators, we have but one Mediator; and so his design is, in opposition to their many gods, to assert the unity of the divine nature (not so as to exclude a distinction of Persons, but thereby to exclude other gods as the proper object of worship), and the unity of a Mediator, in opposition to their many lords.

(2.) That if this place excludes Christ from the unity of nature with God, it doth exclude him from being the object of divine worship; for it saith, " that there is no other God but one ;" therefore no creature can be made God : " And to us there is but one God, the Father ;" therefore the Son cannot be God. If therefore the name Lord, be taken in opposition to God, then Christ cannot be God in any sense ; for we must have but one God : but the plain meaning of the Apostle was, that by one Lord, he meant one Mediator, by whom alone we have, in this new frame of things by the Gospel, access unto God the Father.

The third place, 1 Cor. xv. 27, 28, speaks plainly of Christ's kingdom, as Mediator.

The fourth place, Rev. iii. 12, where Christ speaks several times of " My God," proves no more than his words on the cross, " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ?" For surely Christ might own a particular relation to God, and interest in him, as he was in human nature, without overthrowing the divine nature in him.

Pa. But he owns, " that though he is to be our judge, he knows not the time," Mark xiii. 32. Which seems inconsistent with the divine nature, which knoweth all things.

Pr. The Son there spoken of, was Christ, as endued with a human soul, when he was upon earth ; which could not understand a secret so much out of the reach of man's understanding, without immediate revelation. But it was not necessary by virtue of the union of both natures, that the divine nature should communicate to the human soul of Christ, all divine mysteries : but as the human body was, notwithstanding, subject to passions and infirmities incident to it, so the human soul might continue ignorant of the day of judgment in this state ; both to let us know how great the secret is, and that Christ had the proper capacity of a human soul, which could not extend to such things without divine revelation.

Pa. There is one argument more, which seems to prove Christ's divinity, and doth not, *viz.* "The making of all things visible and invisible," being attributed to him, John i. 3. Heb. i. 10. Col. i. 16, 17, 18, 19.

Pr. Now I confess this doth more than seem to me to be a very strong argument; and that for this reason, the Apostle saith, "The invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made, even his eternal power and Godhead," Rom. i. 20. Was this argument of the Apostle good or not?

Pa. No doubt it was.

Pr. Then the creation of the world is an invincible proof of the true God.

Pa. What follows?

Pr. Then if the making of all things be attributed to Christ, he must be true God; but this is plain in the New Testament, in which the making of all things is as clearly attributed to the Son, as it is to the Father: "All things," saith St. John, "were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made," John i. 3. "For by him were all things created," saith St. Paul, "that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him, and for him," Col. i. 16. "Thou, Lord, in the beginning, hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands," Heb. i. 10. Now compare these expressions with those wherein the creation is attributed to the Father: the world is said to be made by him, Rom. i. 20: that "he hath created all things," Rev. iv. 11: that "of him, and for him, and to him, are all things," Rom. xi. 36. And let any impartial mind discern the difference. Therefore we have as much reason from Scripture to believe Christ to be God, as we have from the creation of things to believe a God.

Pa. But you do not take notice of the different expressions in Scripture, concerning the Father and the Son; all things are said to be of the Father, and by the Son, 1 Cor. viii. 6. And that the Father created all things by Jesus Christ, Eph. iii. 9; which proves no more, than that the Son was God's instrument in the creation.

Pr. What do you mean by God's instrument in the creation? Do you think one creature can create another? How then can the creation prove an infinite power? If you believe the

instrument uncreated, then you must assert him to be true God by nature; and then we have all we desire.

Pa. But the Socinians do not like this answer of the Arians, and therefore they interpret these places of the state of things under the Gospel, and not of the creation of the world.

Pr. They have not one jot mended the matter; for,

(1.) Where the new creation is spoken of, some circumstances are added, which limit the sense to it, as when St. Paul saith, "We are created in Christ Jesus unto good works, that we should walk in them," Eph. ii. 10. Who could possibly understand this of the old creation? And so, "If any man be in Christ Jesus, he is a new creature," 2 Cor. v. 17. But in the other places the same expressions are used, which are attributed to the old creation, without limitation from circumstances, or from the context and occasion of them.

(2.) There are some things said to be created by Christ Jesus, which cannot relate to the new creation; as "by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers," Col. i. 16. How are these created by preaching the Gospel, when they are incapable of the proper means of it, which are the doctrine of the remission of sins upon repentance, and the renewing and sanctifying grace of God?

Pa. But St. Paul doth not mention the heaven and earth, but only intellectual beings, angels and men, and therefore he speaks of the new creation.

Pr. A mighty argument indeed! Do not all things comprehend the heaven and earth? And the particular enumeration of angels, by several denominations, shews that he speaks of another creation distinct from that by the Gospel preached to the world; for the Apostles were Christ's instruments in this new creation, which they could not be to the invisible powers above.

Pa. We have now gone through the true and only grounds of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Pr. You are extremely mistaken. For we have other grounds besides these, although these may be sufficient.

Pa. Name one more.

Pr. I will name several, which you cannot disallow.

Pa. What are they?

Pr. The several heads of arguments made use of by Cardinal Bellarmine, to prove the divinity of Christ: who alone

is a convincing evidence of the vast disparity between the proofs of this doctrine, and of transubstantiation from Scripture. For,

1. He* proves Christ's divinity from those places of the Old Testament, which are expounded in the New; being in the Old Testament, spoken of the true God; and in the New, applied to Christ. As Numb. xxi. 5, 6, compared with 1 Cor. x. 9. Exod. xx. 2, with Jude 5. Psal. lxxviii. 18, with Eph. iv. 8, 9. Psal. xcvii. 7, and cii. 25, 26, with Heb. i. 6, 10, 11. Isa. vi. 1, 3, with John xii. 41, and Rev. iv. 8. Isa. viii. 14, with Luke ii. 34, and Rom. ix. 33. Isa. xl. 3, with Matth. iii. 3, Mark i. 3, Luke i. 76, John i. 23. Isa. xlv. 23, with Rom. xiv. 11. Isa. xlv. 6, with Rev. i. 8, 17, Mal. iii. 1, with Matth. xi. 10.

2. From the places of the Old Testament, which attribute to Christ those things which belong to God; as "power and adoration," Psal. ii. 7, 8, 12. "Being the first and last," Isa. xlviii. 1, 12, 16. "Working miracles," Isa. xxxv. 5. "Being the God of Israel," Isa. liii. 5, 6. "The only God," Isa. xlv. 5, 6. "The Lord of hosts," Zech. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. "Jehovah," Zech. iii. 2. "Pouring out of the Spirit," Zech. xi. 10.

3. From the places of the New Testament which attribute divinity to Christ. As when he is called "the Son of the living God," Matth. xvi. 16. "The only begotten Son of God," John iii. 16. "His own Son," Rom. viii. 32. "His true Son," 1 John v. 20; "His dear Son," Col. i. 13. "His Son above all others," Heb. i. 5. "The express image of his person," Heb. i. 3. "Making himself equal with God," John v. 18. "Being one with the Father," John x. 30. "Lord and God," John xx. 28. "God blessed for ever," Rom. ix. 5. "Who thought it no robbery to be equal with God," Phil. ii. 6. "One with the Father and Spirit," 1 John v. 7. "The true God," 1 John v. 20.

4. From the proper names of God, Isa. ix. 6. John xx. 28. Acts xx. 28. Rom. ix. 5. Rev. iv. 8. 1 John iii. 16. The name "Jehovah," Jer. xxiii. 5, 8. Isa. xl. 3. "The Lord," by which the LXX render Jehovah, Matth. xxi. 3. John xiii. 13. "The most High," Psal. lxxxvii. 5. "A name above every name," Phil. ii. 9. "The invisible one," 1 Tim. i. 17, and vi. 16. "The God of glory," Acts vii. 2. 1 Cor. ii.

* Bell. de Christo, l. 1. c. 4, &c.

8. Psal. xxiv. 7, 8, 9. "King of kings, and Lord of lords," 1 Tim. vi. 15. Rev. xvii. 14, and xix. 16. "The one Lord," 1 Cor. viii. 6. "The true God," John v. 20. "The only Lord," Jude 4. "The great God and our Saviour," Titus ii. 13.

5. From the proper attributes of God; as "Eternity," Prov. viii. 22, 23. Micah v. 2. John i. 1. xvii. 5. "Immensity," John iii. 13. Matth. xviii. 20. "Omnipotency," Rev. i. 8. iv. 8. xi. 17. "Wisdom," Colos. ii. 3. John xxi. 17. "Majesty and Adoration," Heb. i. 6. Mal. iii. 1. "Invocation," John xiv. 13. Acts vii. 59, and ix. 14. 2 Cor. xii. 8. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 John 3.

6. From the proper works of God: as not only creation (of which already), but conservation, Heb. i. 3. Colos. i. 17. "Salvation," Matth. i. 21. "Foretelling future events," John xiii. 19. 1 Pet. i. 11. Rev. ii. 23. "Working miracles by his own power," Mark iv. 39, and "giving power to others to work them," Matth. x. 1.

What think you now of the proofs of the Trinity in Scripture? Do you think Bellarmine could produce any thing like this for transubstantiation? No; so far from it, that where he sets himself in a whole chapter to prove it from Scripture, he produces a first without a second.* "The first argument," saith he, "is taken from Christ's words, This is my body." Very well! but where is the second? For no more could be produced, but this one single passage, about which he spends his whole chapter, and then betakes himself presently to the Fathers.

Pa. But one plain and clear place is sufficient, if we be certain of the sense of that one; for we are as much bound to believe God when we are sure he speaks it once, as an hundred times.

Pr. We have been all this while comparing these two doctrines as to Scripture, and now you see the disproportion so very great, as to number and variety, you say, 'one is as good as a hundred;' but that one had need to be wonderfully clear, which this is very far from, since many of your own writers do confess transubstantiation cannot be drawn from it; as Bellarmine himself owns,† and he affirms it "not to be improbable, that no place of Scripture is so clear and express for transubstantiation, but learned and acute men may doubt whether it can

* Bell. de Euch. l. 3. c. 19.

† Cap. 23.

be drawn from it, setting aside the Church's declaration." But neither Bellarmine, nor any one who attends to the force of the former proofs of the divinity of Christ, can say, that any reasonable man can doubt of it; and that he must at last resolve all into the Church's authority.

Pa. Have not learned and acute men doubted of the divinity of Christ, as well as of transubstantiation? and therefore in that respect, they are both alike.

Pr. We do not insist upon men's bare doubting, but on the reason of their doubting. And when but one single place is produced, which is yielded not to be sufficient of itself to prove the doctrine; there is much more cause of doubting, than where such multitudes of places are produced, and no doubt is made by those who favour transubstantiation, but that they do fully prove the divinity of Christ.

Pa. It seems then that we must come to reason at last. And for my part, I must tell you, I think that parallel much the easiest. For, that three distinct Persons should be in one individual nature, and that the most pure and simple Being, seems to me to be more absurd than transubstantiation.

Pr. Let us set aside the comparing absurdities at present, and only examine in point of reason, the great absurdity of three Persons being in one individual divine nature.

Pa. I did hardly believe you would have the courage to defend the doctrine of the Trinity in point of reason; but I see you are a bold man, and will venture farther than wiser men.

Pr. It may be, others have not had the leisure or curiosity to examine a mystery believed to be so much out of the reach of our understanding; or have confounded themselves and others so much with school-terms, as to leave the matter rather more obscure than it was before. But I shall endeavour to make things as clear as they will bear. And that which I insist upon is, that the absurdities are not to appearance so great as those of transubstantiation. And therefore I desire you to produce those which appear the most dreadful.

Pa. I shall reduce all to these two, which comprehend the rest.

1. How there can be three Persons and but one God.
2. How these can agree in a third, and not agree among themselves.

For the first, it seems very absurd, that there should be three Persons really distinct, whereof every one is God, and yet there should not be three Gods; for nothing is more contra-

dicious than to make three not to be three, or three to be but one.

Pr. I hope now you will give me leave to make an answer to your difficulty, as distinct as possible. We do not say that three persons are but one person, or that one nature is three natures; but that there are three persons in one nature. If therefore one individual nature be communicable to three persons, there is no appearance of absurdity in this doctrine. And on the other side, it will be impossible there should be three Gods, where there is one and the same individual nature; for three Gods must have three several divine natures, since it is the divine essence which makes a God. But to make this more plain, do you make any difference between Nature and Person?

Pa. Yes.

Pr. Wherein lies it?

Pa. Excuse me, sir, for you have undertaken to explain these things.

Pr. I will begin with Person. Which name was originally taken among the Romans from some remarkable distinction of one from another; either by some outward appearance, as a vizard or habit, or some particular quality or disposition. And from hence it came to be applied to those inward properties, whereby one intelligent being is distinguished from another; and from those properties to the person who had them. Thus Person is used even by Tully himself, at least twenty times in his books of Rhetoric: and the old civil law speaks of personal rights and personal actions. So that the critics, such as Valla, and others, had no cause to find fault with Boethius, for applying the notion of a person to an "intelligent being subsisting by itself" (and so the soul is no person in men, but the man consisting of soul and body), "having some incommunicable properties belonging to him." Therefore I cannot but wonder at the niceness of some late men, who would have the names of Person, and Hypostasis, and Trinity to be laid aside; since themselves confess Boethius's definition of a Person to be true enough; but they say, "it belongs to the creatures, and not to God, for it would make three Gods." Which is to suppose, without proving it, that the Divine nature can communicate itself after no other manner than a created nature can.

This is now to be more strictly inquired into. And it is very well observed by Boethius, *de Trin.* l. 1. "*Principium*

pluralitatis alteritas est : that diversity is the reason of plurality :” and therefore in the Trinity, so far as they are different, they are three, *i. e.* in regard of personal properties and relations ; but so far as they agree, they are but one, that is, as to the Divine nature.

It is very true, that, according to arithmetic, three cannot be one, nor one three ; but we must distinguish between the bare numeration, and the things numbered. The repetition of three units, certainly makes three distinct numbers ; but it doth not make three Persons to be three Natures. And therefore as to the things themselves, we must go from the bare numbers to consider their nature. Wherever there is a real distinction, we may multiply the number, though the subject be but one. As suppose we say the soul hath three faculties, understanding, will, and memory ; we may, without the least absurdity, say, there are three and one ; and those three not confounded with each other, and yet there is but one soul.

Pa. But the Socinians object, that there is a difference between three Properties and three distinct Persons ; because a Person is an individual being ; and so three Persons must be three individual beings ; and therefore as there is but one Divine Being, there can be but one Person.

Pr. This is the main strength of the cause ; to which I answer, that although a Person be an individual being, yet it implies two things in it : 1. Something common with others of the same nature ; as three men have one and the same nature, though they be three persons. 2. Something peculiar and incommunicative to any other ; so that John cannot be Peter, nor Peter James.

Pa. But what is it which makes one not to be the other, when they have the same common nature ?

Pr. You ask a hard question, *viz.* about the principle of individuation ; but if it be so hard to resolve it, as to created beings, there is certainly far less reason for us to be unsatisfied, if it appear difficult to clear the difference of Nature and Person in an infinite being. Yet all mankind are agreed in the thing, *viz.* that there is a community of the same nature, and a real distinction of persons among men, though they cannot tell what that is which discriminates the human nature in John, from the same human nature in Peter and James. And it is observable, that as beings arise in perfection above each other, it is still so much harder to assign that which is called the principle of individuation. In gross and material beings we

can discern a number of accidents, or peculiar modes and properties, which distinguish them from each other; but it is much harder to assign it in spiritual and intellectual beings, whose natures and differences lie not so open to our understanding. If so be then it appears more difficult in an infinite and incomprehensible Being, what cause have we to wonder at it?

But we must always make a difference between what we have reason to believe, and what we have a power to conceive. Although we have all the reason in the world to believe that there is a God, *i. e.* a Being infinite in all perfections, yet we must yield that his essential attributes are above our comprehension.

As for instance:—

1. We must believe God to be eternal, or we cannot believe him to be God. For, if he once were not, it is impossible he should ever be. And therefore we conclude necessary existence to be an essential attribute of the Divine nature. But then, how to conceive that a being should be from itself, is at least as hard, as how one and the same individual nature should be communicated to three distinct Persons; nay, it is somewhat harder, since we see something like this in other beings; but we can see no manner of resemblance of a thing that hath its being wholly from itself.

2. We must allow God to be omnipresent, or else we must suppose him so confined and limited to a certain place, as to be excluded from any other; and if he can act in all places, he must either be present in them, or his power must be larger than his being, which is infinite; but after this, we have not a power to conceive how a Being should be present in the whole world, and not to be extended; and if it be extended, how it should be incapable of being divided into parts; which is certainly repugnant to the Divine nature. I therefore produce these two instances, to let the Antitrinitarians see, that what they object in point of reason, as to the incomprehensibility of the mystery of the Trinity, will in consequence overthrow the Divine nature. But as there is the highest reason to believe there is a God, though we cannot comprehend his perfections, so there may be great reason to believe the doctrine of the Trinity, though we cannot comprehend the manner of it.

Pa. I had thought you intended to explain the mystery of it, and now you tell us it is incomprehensible.

Pr. It is a good step to our believing it, to make it plain,

that the difficulty of our conception ought not to hinder our faith. And I have made some advance towards the explication of it, by shewing, that since mankind are agreed about the difference between Nature and Person, the whole difficulty comes to this, that the same common nature in mankind makes three persons; but that it is the same individual nature in all the Persons of the Trinity.

And now let us consider the infinite perfection and simplicity of the Divine nature; and we shall think it unreasonable that it should be so bounded as to the manner of its communication, as the nature of man is. Every individual man hath not only individual properties, but an individual nature, *i. e.* the common nature of man, limited by some unaccountable principle, that doth make him different from all other men having the same nature with himself. The difficulty then doth not lie in a Community of Nature, and a Distinction of Persons, for that is granted among men, but in the Unity of Nature, with the Difference of Persons. And supposing the Divine nature to be infinite in its perfection, I do not see how it is capable of being bounded, as the common nature of man in individuals is; and if it be not capable of being bounded and limited, it must diffuse itself into all the Persons in the same individual manner; and so this doctrine of the Trinity is not repugnant to reason.

Pa. But what say you to the Athanasian Creed; is not that repugnant to human reason?

Pr. I think not; but that it is a just explication of the doctrine of the Trinity rightly understood.

Pa. I see now you are upon hard points, you will stick at nothing, and transubstantiation itself will down with you anon.

Pr. I doubt that; but at present we are upon the Athanasian Creed. And I desire but one principle to clear it, which follows from what is said already, *viz.* that what is affirmed of the Divine nature, as such, must be common to all three Persons; but whatever is affirmed of the several Persons, as such, must be peculiar to themselves. Now this is a clear principle of reason, and hath no appearance of absurdity in it. And from hence the Athanasian Creed will easily be cleared. For eternity, incomprehensibility, omnipotency, belonging to the Divine nature, as such, we ought to say, "that they are not three Eternals, three Incomprehensibles, three Almightyies; but one Eternal, one Incomprehensible, one Almighty." Because the attributes belonging to the Persons, by reason of the Divine nature, and the attributes being really the same with it, the

nature is the proper subject of them ; which being but one, we are not to distinguish them as to essential attributes, but only as to personal relations and properties.

Pa. But if the three Persons be co-eternal, how is it possible to conceive there should not be three Eternals ?

Pr. This seems the hardest expression in the whole Creed ; but it is to be interpreted by the scope and design of it : which is, that the essential Attributes are not to be distinguished, though the Persons be. And so eternity is not taken as a personal attribute, but as essential ; and so they are not three Eternals, but one Eternal. And the great design of the Creed was to shew, that the Christian Church did not believe such a Trinity as consisted of three Persons, unequal and different in nature, and substance, and duration.

Pa. But what say you to the damning all those who do not believe it, in the beginning and end of it ?

Pr. This is off from our business. But to let you see I will not avoid the difficulties you offer, I will give an answer even to this. The meaning is not, that every one is damned who doth not conceive aright of the difference of Nature and Person in the Trinity, or of the essential and personal attributes ; but that those who set up in opposition to it the worship of a mere creature as God, or the worship of more Gods than one, or who wilfully reject this article of the Christian faith, when it is duly proposed to them, are guilty of a damning sin. For even the disbelief of Christianity itself, is not supposed to be the cause of men's damnation, but where the doctrine of the Gospel hath been proposed in a way of credibility. If when this doctrine of the Trinity is proposed to men's minds, they will not consider it, nor weigh the arguments on both sides impartially, but with scorn and contempt reject it, and endeavour to bring reproach upon Christianity for the sake of it, and disturb the peace of the Church about it ; such cannot be said to receive or believe it faithfully, and by such sins they do run the hazard of perishing everlastingly.

Pa. I see you have a mind to smooth every thing relating to the Trinity, I wish you would do the same about transubstantiation. But yet you have not answered the other great difficulty in point of reason, *viz.* that those things which agree or disagree in a third, must agree or disagree one with the other. And therefore if the Father be God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God ; then the Father must be Son and Holy Ghost, and the Son and Holy Ghost must be the

Father. If not, then they are really the same, and really distinct ; the same as to Essence, distinct as to Persons : and so they are the same, and not the same, which is a contradiction.

Pr. And now I think you have drawn out the most refined spirits of Socinianism, to make the doctrine of the Trinity and transubstantiation parallel, because you say, it implies a contradiction ; which is the nearest parallel you have yet offered at. But this terrible argument is grounded on the same supposition, *viz.* that the Divine Essence is no more capable of communicating itself to three distinct Persons, than any created being is. The reason of that axiom being, that created things, by reason of their finite nature, cannot diffuse or communicate themselves to more than one ; and therefore those which agree in a third, must agree together ; but supposing it possible that the same finite nature could extend itself to several individuals, it would be presently answered, the axiom did hold only where they did adequately and reciprocally agree, and not where they did agree only in essence, but differed in the manner of subsistence, For where a different manner of subsistence is supposed possible, in the same individual nature, the agreement in that cannot take away that difference which is consistent with it ; which we attribute to the unlimitedness and perfection of the Divine nature.

Pa. But you can bring no other instance but the thing in question ; and therefore this is a *petitio principii*, or taking that for granted which is in dispute.

Pr. I do not think it to be so, where the reason is assigned from the peculiar properties of the Divine nature, to which there can be no parallel. And I think it very unreasonable in the Socinians, to send us to created beings for the rules and measures of our judgment concerning a Being acknowledged to be infinite.

Pa. Are not the Divine Persons infinite, as well as the Divine Nature ? And therefore as created persons do take in the whole nature, so infinite persons will do the infinite nature.

Pr. No question, but the Persons are infinite in regard of the nature which is so ; but if an infinite nature be communicable to more persons than one, every such person cannot appropriate the whole nature to itself.

Pa. If the difference be on the account of infinity, then there must be an infinite number of persons in the Divine essence.

Pr. I answer, that infiniteness of number is no perfection ;

and as to the number of Persons, we follow not our own conjectures, nor the authority of the Church ; but Divine Revelation, which hath assured us, that there is but one God, and and yet there are three that are one. Which depends not merely on the place of St. John, but the form of baptism is remarkable to this purpose, which joins together the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; without any other distinction besides that of order and relation. And it is against the fundamental design of Christianity, to join any created beings together with God in so solemn an act of religion. And St. Paul joins them together in his benediction : "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen." 2 Cor. xii. 14. From whence the Christian Church has always believed a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Divine Nature.

Pa. You have taken a great deal of pains to clear the doctrine of the Trinity from any absurdity in point of reason, why should you not do as much now as to transubstantiation?

Pr. In plain truth, because I cannot ; for here lies a vast difference between them. In the Trinity we considered an infinite Being, to which no bounds can be set without destroying its nature ; but in transubstantiation, we suppose a true finite body, which hath its natural bounds and limits to one certain place, and yet you will and must suppose this body to be equally present in many thousand distant places at the same time ; which implies so great a repugnancy to the very nature of a body, that I can by no means give my assent to it.

Pa. Alas ! Is this it which chokes your reason, so that you cannot swallow the doctrine of the Church in this matter ? You do not consider, that though we allow nothing infinite in the body itself, yet we suppose an infinite power to be employed about it ; and an infinite power may produce things above our comprehensions, about bodies in themselves finite.

Pr. This is the utmost your cause will bear ; but I pray tell me, Is there any such thing as a repugnancy in the nature of things or not ? *i. e.* Are there not some things which are endued with such properties, that if you alter them, you destroy their very nature ; as, to suppose an indivisible line, a triangle without lines, a body without dimensions ?

Pa. Hold a little ; a body must have dimensions belonging to it, but it is not necessary it should have those dimensions

wherever it is present. For it may be present in one place as a body, and in another after the manner of a spirit.

Pr. You might as well have said, a body may be considered two ways ; as it is a body, and as it is not a body : for there can be no body, where there are no dimensions proper to it.

Pa. See how you are mistaken ; for it is not the dimensions which seem to hinder a body being in more places at once, but its unity ; as Bellarmine well observes.

Pr. I say both of them hinder. For a true body can no more be without its dimensions, than a line without divisibility.

Pa. I grant, that naturally it cannot, but by Divine power it may.

Pr. Will you make the power of God to change the essential properties of things, while the things themselves remain in their true nature ? You may as well say, that naturally man is a reasonable creature, but by Divine power he may be a true man, and yet want the faculty of reasoning ; that naturally two and two make four, but God can make two and two to be joined together in a supernatural manner, so as that four shall not result from them ; that though, naturally speaking, whitewashing a wall makes it look white, yet by an extraordinary power, there may be the presence of all things which make a wall white, yet it shall not do so : just so it is to make a body present, and yet to have no dimensions of a body. Is there any real difference between the nature of a body and spirit ? Wherein lies it ? Is it not as repugnant for a body to be after the manner of a spirit, as for a body and spirit to be the same ?

Pa. All this proceeds upon not considering the difference between the essential extension of a body, and that which is quantitative, and hath relation to place.

Pr. The essential extension of a body without quantity, is nonsense, and a contradiction. For it is to make a body extended and not extended at the same time. I pray tell me what you mean by a body, as it is opposed to a spirit ?

Pa. I mean as all mankind do, such a substance which consists of parts extended and divisible.

Pr. Then being extended and divisible are the natural and essential properties of a body. And therefore, to suppose a body not to be extended and divisible, is to suppose it not to be a body, which is a plain contradiction.

Pa. You are to distinguish between the intrinsic quantity, which is an inseparable property of a body, and the extrinsic relation it hath to a place.

Pr. Intrinsic quantity without relation to place, is intrinsic nonsense. For, how is it possible for extended parts to have no relation to place?

Pa. By relation to place, I mean, when the parts of a body answer to the parts of a place: but by intrinsic quantity, I mean, that there is the real order and proportion of parts in the body itself, but it doth not fill up the place.

Pr. Then you do suppose the body of Christ in the eucharist, to have all the distinct parts of a body, with their due order and proportion, but to be in the sacrament after an invisible manner.

Pa. Why not?

Pr. Do you think it possible for the real and entire body of a man be crowded into the compass of a wafer, with all the difference of its parts, so that no true part of the body be missing?

Pa. Yes, by Divine power.

Pr. Do you think a far less thing possible than that, *viz.* that a man's head, and shoulders, and arms, should be contained entire and distinct under the nail of his little finger?

Pa. Why not?

Pr. Then why may not the greatest body be within the least? Why may not an elephant be caught in a mouse-trap, and a rhinoceros be put into a snuff-box? For either there is a repugnancy in the nature of the thing, for a greater body to be within a less, or there is not; if not, then these mentioned instances are possible; if there be, then the supposition of Divine power can give no relief, unless you suppose that God can do things repugnant in themselves, *i. e.* that he can do things which cannot be done. But I pray tell me if the very body of Christ be by transubstantiation in the wafer, with all its parts in their due order, then the head must be distant from the feet, and all the other organs in their proper places; but this cannot possibly be supposed, where there is no measure of distance as place is, and the whole body is in a point.

Pa. I say again, there is the just order of parts considered in themselves, but not with respect to place.

Pr. Then it is impossible there should be any distance; without which, it is impossible there should be the order of parts in a human body. Thus, there is a repugnancy in the very supposition of Christ's body being in the wafer, though

there were but one single wafer ; but when to this we add, that it is equally thus present in thousands of wafers at what distance of place soever, the absurdities do increase and multiply so fast upon us, that it is hardly possible to imagine any thing concerning a body which doth imply more than this doth. As that one and the same body should be indivisibly present in many places, where it must be divided from itself, by so many bodies interposing : so that it is impossible to apprehend how two bodies can be divided from one another more effectually, than such a body must be from itself, if it be present in many places at once.

Pa. I pray stop here ; for reckon up as many absurdities as you will, they are all but the effects of carnal reason, and we must captivate our understanding to the obedience of faith.

Pr. Then it is to no purpose to argue any further on the point of reason ; and I thought you designed this for one part of your parallel.

Pa. So I did ; and I still say there are things as hard to make out about the Trinity, which you have not yet taken notice of.

Pr. I pray let us hear them, that we may put an end to this discourse.

Pa. What say you then to one and the same nature being in three distinct Persons, which Bellarmine saith, “is more wonderful than that one body should be in many places ; because the nature is identified with the persons, but the body is not so with the places in which it is present.” If therefore the same nature be not divided from itself in the Persons of the Trinity, how much more easily may one body be present in several places, and not be divided from itself ?

Pr. It is strange, neither Bellarmine nor you should discern the difference. For the reason why a body must be divided from itself, being in several places, is, because it is finite ; and there being no penetration of dimensions in bodies, the interposing of other bodies must needs divide the same body in distant places ; but the reason why the same Divine Nature may be in several Persons is, because it is infinite ; and therefore nothing can bound or discontinue it.

Pa. You have talked much of contradictions ; is there any greater about transubstantiation, than that of eternal generation of the Son in the mystery of the Trinity ? For, if it be proper generation, then you cannot infer from it, that the Son

is of the same substance with the Father; if it be, then it must be a proceeding from not being to being, and so an eternal generation is a contradiction.

Pr. It is a rule in common reason, that all attributes must be understood according to the nature of the subjects. And therefore, if the subject here spoken of be of such a nature as to be incapable of proceeding from not being to being, then whatever is affirmed of it, must be so understood as not to destroy its nature. The term of generation alone is not, it may be, sufficient to prove the Son co-essential with the Father, because it might have been used improperly and metaphorically. But when, from the Scripture, it otherwise appears that the Son of God, being the Word, "was in the beginning with God, and was God," John i. 1; and we soon after find him called "the only begotten of the Father," ver. 14; "and the only begotten Son," ver. 18; we have reason to infer from hence his eternal generation. Which must not be understood in such a mean sense as is agreeable to creatures, but as it is consistent with the essential attributes of God, of which necessary existence is one. So that by eternal generation no more can be meant, than such an emanation of the Son from the Father, as doth suppose them to have the same nature and co-existence: which is best represented by the rays of the sun coming from the fountain of light, if they were permanent and not successive.

Pa. What say you then to the mystery of the incarnation? Is it not more wonderful, as Bellarmine observes, "that there should be one hypostasis in two natures, than one body in two places? Since the union is greater between the hypostasis and the natures, than between the body and the places it is in; the one being intrinsical and substantial, the other extrinsical and accidental. And that hypostasis is the same with the divine nature, and yet is most closely united with the human nature, which is so different from the divine; so that it is incomprehensible by us, how in that union the natures are not confounded, or the hypostasis divided."

Pr. Suppose now we grant all this, that there is an incomprehensible mystery in the incarnation, what follows from thence? Have I not hitherto owned, that there must be something incomprehensible by us in what relates to the Divine nature? And it is the less wonder it is so in the incarnation, wherein an union is implied between an infinite and finite nature, when the union of the soul and body, though both finite, is above our comprehension, though we ourselves con-

sist of souls and bodies so united. But what consequence is it, if we are not able to explain this, that then we must admit that the same body may not be merely in two, but in ten thousand places at the same time? *i. e.* if we cannot explain the hypostatical union, then all manner of absurdities must go down with us, that relate to things of a very different nature from it.

Pa. I am glad to find you are set at last, and that now you have a difficulty before you, which you can never get through.

Pr. Be not too confident; I have only hitherto denied the consequence as to the difficulties of transubstantiation. But it is possible, that setting aside the confusion of School terms, I may be able to give a far more intelligible and reasonable account of the incarnation itself, than you can ever do of transubstantiation.

Pa. First shew that it is possible, and then explain the manner of it.

Pr. But let us in the first place agree what we mean by it.

Pa. By the incarnation, I mean the union of the divine and human nature, so as to make one person in Christ.

Pr. If this be not possible, it must either be, 1. Because two natures different from each other, cannot be united to make one person: the contrary whereof appears in the union of soul and body to the person of a man. Or, 2. Because it is impossible that an infinite nature should be united to a finite.

Pa. How can there be an union possible, between two beings infinitely distant from each other?

Pr. Not in that respect, wherein the distance is infinite; but if there be nothing destructive to either nature in such an union, and the infinite nature do condescend to it, why may it not be so united to an intelligent finite being, as to make one person together with it? For in respect of union, the distance is not so great between finite and infinite, as between body and spirit.

Pa. The distance is infinite in one case, but not in the other.

Pr. I do not speak of them, with respect to perfections, but to union; and an infinite distance in that, must imply an absolute repugnancy, which you can never prove: for, since body and spirit may be united to make one person, an infinite spirit may be united to a finite nature.

Pa. But the manner of the hypostatical union is impossible to be conceived.

Pr. Let the thing be granted possible, and the difficulty of conceiving the manner may be as great in the union of soul and body. Will you undertake to explain that to me? And yet I hope you believe it. But let us hear your difficulties again, which you object from Bellarmine.

Pa. That there should be but one hypostasis in two natures; and that in the union, the natures should not be confounded, nor the hypostasis divided.

Pr. All these difficulties arise from the sense of the word *hypostasis*. Which originally signifies a real being, and not such which depends only on fancy and imagination; from thence its signification was enlarged, not only to things real (in opposition to mere appearances and creatures of the mind), but to such a thing which did subsist of itself, and had not its subsistence in another, as accidents had. So that an hypostasis was a real substance which had subsistence in itself. But such are of two kinds, as the Greek Fathers observe. 1. Such as are real substances in themselves, but yet are capable of being joined with another, to make up a person; thus the soul and body have two different hypostases, and make up but one person of a man. 2. It is taken for a complete individual subsistence, which is not joined with any other as a part; and so hypostasis is the same with a person, which is nothing else but a complete, intelligent, individual hypostasis. And in this sense, there can be but one hypostasis in Christ, *i. e.* one person, though there be two natures.

Pa. But our divines say, that the human nature after the union, hath no hypostasis, it being swallowed up by the divine.

Pr. I know they do; but if they mean that the human nature, after the union, loses that subsistence which is proper to the human nature, it is impossible for them to avoid the Eutychian heresy, condemned by the Council of Chalcedon; but if they mean no more than that there is a true nature, but no person, save only that which results from both natures; they then agree with the sense of the Church, which condemned the Eutychians. For, as much as the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches differed in themselves, they were both built on the same ground, *viz.* that there could be no true nature, but there must be a person; and that two natures could not make one person. From whence Nestorius asserted there were two persons in Christ; and Eutyches denied that there were two natures.

Pa. What doth all this signify, but that the authority of

the Church must determine whether there be two natures, or two persons in Christ?

Pr. It seems then, the whole business wherein the General Councils were so warmly concerned, was only to make an ecclesiastical dictionary, and to appoint what words are to be used, and what not. Do you think then, there were no such real heresies as Nestorianism and Eutychianism, but only they happened to take the words Nature and Person in another sense than the Church would have men use them?

Pa. I trust the Church for all these things.

Pr. Then if the Church would have you affirm two persons and one nature, or two natures and one person, it were all one to you.

Pa. Why not? since the Church must determine.

Pr. What if you had been to dispute with Nestorius and Eutyches?

Pa. I would have told them, they must submit to the Church about the use of words.

Pr. And they would have laughed at you for your pains: for the controversy was really about the truth of Christ's incarnation (as the Fathers proved, and the Councils determined), which in consequence was rejected by both of them; as I will evidently prove, if you have any longer patience.

Pa. I beg your pardon, Sir, I have heard enough of all conscience already.

Pr. I think so too, to make you ashamed of your parallel between the doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation.

And methinks, for the sake of our common Christianity, you should no more venture upon such bold and unreasonable comparisons. Do you in earnest think it is all one, whether men do believe a God, or Providence, or heaven, or hell, or the Trinity and incarnation of Christ, if they do not believe Transubstantiation? We have heard much of late about old and new Popery; but if this be the way of representing new Popery, by exposing the common articles of faith; it will set the minds of all good Christians farther from it than ever. For upon the very same grounds, we may expect another parallel between the belief of a God and Transubstantiation; the effect of which will be, the exposing of all religion. This is a very destructive and mischievous method of proceeding; but our comfort is, that it is very unreasonable; as I hope hath fully appeared by this discourse.

THE TEXTS EXAMINED, WHICH PAPISTS CITE OUT OF
THE BIBLE, FOR THE PROOF OF THEIR DOCTRINE OF
TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION (as defined by the Council of Trent) is, "when by the consecration of bread and wine, there is the conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of Christ's body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood."*

Upon this conversion they say,

1. "That there is existent in the sacrament truly, really and substantially the same body of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, consisting of flesh, bones, and sinews, together with his soul and divinity."†

2. "That there is nothing of the bread and wine but the accidents or forms without the substance."

There is no need to observe that this is a doctrine full of contradiction to the sense and reason of mankind; and therefore can have no help or proof from thence; for sense and reason cannot speak against themselves. And if we repair to Scripture, we are herein also much prevented; for many learned men of the Church of Rome have in several ages acknowledged that there is not one place of Scripture so express as to oblige a man to believe it without the authority of the Church: this Bellarmine also says, "is not altogether improbable."‡

But yet he can find out upon occasion *robustissima argumenta*, very forcible arguments for this doctrine.

For which purpose he divides what he has to say into two heads.

I. He undertakes to shew from Scripture, that the eucharist is not natural bread and wine, but is the very body and blood of Christ, really and substantially, under the forms of bread and wine.

II. That there is a transubstantiation or conversion of the substance of bread and wine into Christ's very body and blood.

* Sess. 13. c. 4.

† Cap. 1. et Can. 1. Catech. Trid. par. 1. SS. 23 et 27.

‡ De Euchar. l. 3. c. 23. L. 1. c. 3. SS. ex præstantioribus.

PART I.

THAT the eucharist is the very natural body and blood of Christ. Upon this first he largely discourses from the figures of it in Scripture, from the promise, the institution, and the use and end for which it serves.

He argues thus from the figures of it: * “That figures necessarily ought to be inferior to the things figured, therefore they are called a shadow, Col. ii. 17. But if the bread become not the true and proper body of Christ upon consecration, then the figure† would be often equal, and sometimes superior to the things figured, in their matter and aptness for signification. Of the former sort were the bread of Melchizedek, the shew-bread, the bread of the first-fruits, and of Elias. Of the latter sort are the lamb in the passover, the blood of the covenant, and manna, which several Fathers acknowledge to be figures of the eucharist. In the first of which, bread is equal to the bread in the eucharist: and in the last, a lamb and blood do much more clearly express the sacrifice of Christ than bread, if it be no other than bread in substance, and is only a signification of that sacrifice, and not the sacrifice itself.”

This is the sum of his argument, which includes these things:—

1. That the bread and wine of Melchizedek, the shew-bread, the passover, &c. are figures of the eucharist. The arguments by which he endeavours to prove this, have been, in the chief instance, already considered.‡

2. That in the matter and aptness to signify, those figures are some of them equal, others superior to the bread and wine in the Lord’s supper. This is not altogether true. But suppose it, that there was for example, more in the paschal lamb, both for the quality of the thing, and its aptness to signify, than there is in bread and wine, yet there might be reason for it. (1.) With respect to the temper of the Israelites, and the worship suited to them, which was gross and carnal; whereas in the Gospel the temper is supposed to be more ingenuous, and the worship is more spiritual. (2.) There was reason for it, as the paschal lamb was a type of what was to follow afar off: but the Lord’s supper is a memorial of what

* SS. 1. † C. 3. SS. ex Figuris.

‡ Texts for the Sacrifice of the Mass, p. 384, &c.

is past, and clearly revealed in all the points and particulars of it; and so there needed not the like aptness to signify when all was fulfilled before.

3. There is further implied, that the equality and superiority of the figures in their matter and aptness to signify, makes them to be equal and superior to the eucharist.

Bnt this is not to be allowed: for the signification in matters of divine institution (as the sacraments are) proceeds not, nor is to be estimated so much from the nature and quality of the things representing, or from an aptness in them to represent, as from the will of the institutor. And therefore,

1. A sacrament (whatever the matter of it is) is to be preferred before what is not a sacrament. And so, though the bread and wine of Melchizedek, or the bread of the first-fruits, be equal in kind to bread in the eucharist, yet that makes not the former equal to the latter in place or office; for in them the bread was not sacramental, but here it is sacramental.

2. Again, sacraments themselves are to be estimated according to their effects and virtue. And therefore, though we should allow the paschal lamb in its nature and aptness to signify, to be superior to bread, yet it follows not that the passover would have been superior to the eucharist, if the body and blood of Christ be not actually and substantially there: For without any such reason, the eucharist is superior to the passover, as this immediately respected a temporal deliverance; that a deliverance purely spiritual and eternal: this was but a type of our Saviour's sacrifice; that a memorial of it. And the Church of Rome is bound to allow this, which holds that the "sacraments of the law did only signify grace; but those of the Gospel do confer it, *ex opere operato*."* So that in conclusion, the argument from matter and aptness to signify, and of preferring the figure before the thing figured, comes to nothing. Indeed the argument proves too much; for if the figure will be equal or superior to the thing figured (when the matter or aptness to signify is equal or superior), unless the thing set forth in the sacrament be actually there; then the waters of the Red Sea, and the rock, would be equal to Christian baptism, unless the water of baptism be regeneration, and turned into it. For Bellarmine saith, "those waters were figures of the sacrament of baptism."

* Bellarm. de effectu Sacram. l. 2. c. 13. SS. 1 et 2.

The second way to prove from Scripture,* that the very body and blood of Christ are properly in the eucharist, is taken from what Bellarmine calls a promise, contained in John vi. 51, "The bread that I will give, is my flesh."

Here he undertakes two things:—

1. To shew that this discourse of our Saviour belongs to the eucharist.

2. To prove from thence that Christ's natural body and blood are truly in the eucharist.

1. He says, "this discourse belongs to the eucharist." Where I premise, that the question is not whether there may not be some respect to the eucharist in it, and that our Saviour might not use the words "flesh and blood," so that at the sacrament they might recall to their minds what he at this time had discoursed upon; but the question is, whether the eucharist be the proper subject of this discourse, and the "eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ," be no other but the eating and drinking of it as contained under the species of bread and wine in the eucharist? As for example, that the meaning of ver. 53 is, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood" in the eucharist, "ye have no life in you." This is what they affirm, and we deny. That the proper flesh and blood of Christ is here discoursed of, we deny not; but then we withal do hold, that by the flesh and blood of Christ is here understood the same as the bread, ver. 35, 48, 51: and by both Christ himself, who was to die for the world; and so eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, are the same with coming to him, or believing in him, ver. 35, 45, 47, 51. Which though in a more especial manner it is in the eucharist (as Christ and his sufferings are therein more peculiarly represented), yet is to be out of the sacrament as well as in it. Whether this discourse of our Saviour did peculiarly thus belong to the eucharist, is a point not agreed amongst themselves, as it is acknowledged by the Council of Trent† (where it was long debated) and by Bellarmine.‡ But yet this author did not go far, but he so forgot himself, as to affirm that "all interpreters expound it of the eucharist." We shall consider his arguments, and leave his contradiction to himself.

He argues from the above cited verse, "The bread that I will give is my flesh:" where, saith he, "if bread signifies

* SS. II.

† Sess. 21. c. 1

‡ L. 1. c. 5. SS. Porro Catholici. C. 7. SS. Respondeo non

Christ as received by faith, without any relation to the sacramental species, it would not be in the future, *I will give*. Therefore our Lord promised his flesh, not absolutely, but as to be eaten in the last supper.”*

To this I answer:

If the word *bread* absolutely refers to the eucharist, and is to be taken literally,† then it would follow, that as truly as his flesh was flesh, his flesh should become bread; for it is said, “The bread which I will hereafter give, is now my flesh;” which implies the conversion of flesh into bread, rather than what they hold, the conversion of bread into flesh.

2. If it will follow that it must be understood absolutely of the sacramental species, because it is in the future, *I will give*; then it will follow by the like way of arguing, that it cannot be understood of the sacramental species, because it is also in the present, “I am that bread,” ver. 48. “Is my flesh,” ver. 51. “My flesh is meat,” ver. 55. And that it was thus with respect to the present, not only the Jews understood, but our Saviour grants to them, ver. 53, “Except ye eat.” So ver. 56, 57, 58.

3. From hence it therefore follows, that our Saviour is here not to be absolutely understood of the sacramental species, but of that bread which might be eaten out of the eucharist as well as in it, at that present, as well as afterwards; and consequently that the eating of it is by faith.

He argues‡ that the discourse belongs thus to the eucharist, “from the words of the last supper, which bear a correspondence to this. Here it is (I will give) by way of promise: there it is (is given) by way of performance.”

This he confesses is only a probable argument;§ it is ushered in with a *videatur*, and is indeed of no force. For though we yield that the words, “I will give,” contain a promise, yet we differ from him,

1. As to the time and case when this promise was performed. Bellarmine saith it was in the eucharist; but if we consult the text, that tells us it was when he gave his flesh for the life of the world, which was on the cross. For so is that phrase “to give his life,” and “give himself,” always applied in Scripture to his death, and never to the eucharist: see John x. 11, 15. Gal. i. 4, and ii. 20. Ephes. v. 2, 25. 1 Tim. ii. 6. Tit. ii. 14.

* Arg. 1.

† Answ. 1.

‡ Arg. 2.

§ Answer.

2. We as little agree in the sense of those words in the institution, "which is given for you." Which, though spoken in the present at the last supper, manifestly refer to the future; and the sense of them is, which shall shortly be given for you. Of this see before, p. 171.

It is further urged by Bellarmine and a late author,* that "the Jews contended, ver. 52, 'How can this man give us his flesh to eat?' And many of the disciples said, ver. 60, 'This is an hard saying.' From whence it is evident, that both of them thought Christ propounded some new and wonderful thing to them; and understood him in a proper sense, and our Saviour did not correct this their opinion, but repeated it, ver. 53. But if it was to believe in Christ, who can think our Saviour would involve it in so many metaphors, when he used to explain parables, and when he as easily might have done it in the sacramentarian way, by telling them that no more was meant but by believing in his death?† But here he explained not himself, but only said, 'Will ye also go away?' As if he had said, I have nothing more that I shall do, I have insinuated a mystery; here is need of faith, and he that will not acquiesce in it, let him depart."

I answer :

1. We grant that both the Jews and disciples thought that our Saviour spoke of somewhat wonderful and new; for they conceived both alike, that he spake of the carnal eating of his body, ver. 52. But is it the more true, because they so thought? They thought that our Saviour affirmed that he came bodily from heaven, ver. 41, 42. But what they thought was far from being true.‡

2. And whereas it is alleged, that our Saviour did not correct their opinion. I answer :

1. He no more rectified their mistake about his bodily descent from heaven, than he is supposed to have rectified them in their opinion concerning the oral manducation of his body. Nor,

2. Did he rectify their mistake concerning the carnal manducation of his body;§ which the Church of Rome (whatever it held in the days of P. Nicholas) no more now allows than we do, that there is in the eucharist the carnal presence of his

* Arg. 3.

† Transubstantiation defended, and proved from Scripture, p. 55.

‡ Answer.

§ Decret. de Consecrat. dist. 2. C.

body, which he might as easily have done, as what this late author calls "the sacramentarian way."

3. Whereas it is further pleaded, that our Saviour used to explain his parables; that if this was figurative, he might as easily have done it:

I answer; if he meant it in the Romish sense, he never did explain it: for he nowhere said that they should eat his flesh and drink his blood, under the species or forms of bread and wine.

But our late author saith,* that "our Saviour proceeds to deliver this profound mystery to them, in more express words, using a vehement asseveration to confirm the truth of it; ver. 53, &c. Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh," &c. And yet, notwithstanding these express words, it seems that not only the people, but the disciples were not aware of any such meaning: this, our author himself a little after grants, who observes,† "that after our Saviour had spoke thus to them, many of the disciples themselves, thinking that he meant that his body was to be eaten in a gross manner, like the Capernaïtes, cried out, This is an hard saying." So that he had better have used Bellarmine's, 'our Saviour *insinuates*,' rather than that of '*express words*;' which makes him so widely differ from himself.

4. I add, that (besides the nature of the thing, and the intimations given all along by our Saviour) he did explain himself to his disciples, ver. 63, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh, if it could be eaten, profiteth nothing," that is, to quicken, (as Tertullian‡ expounds it.) "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life:" which he said, to intimate to them, that these "things which he spake, were not carnal, but spiritual,"§ as an ancient expounds it: and so St. Peter understands it, ver. 68, 69, "Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe," &c. Christ was the flesh and blood to be eaten, and belief in him was (as he understood) the eating of that flesh and blood. So that from the beginning to the end of it, is not one word of eating flesh and drinking blood under the forms of bread and wine. And here our author is defective, who agrees with us, the "words cannot be carnally understood,"|| but instead

* Transubstantiation defended, p. 55, 56.

† Ibid. et p. 57.

‡ De Resurrect. Carn. c. 37.

§ Athanas. Tnact. in Quicumque dixerit verbum, or whoever was the Author of it.

|| Transub. defended, p. 58.

of proving his own part, has recourse not to a text, but the omnipotency of our Saviour.

“The distinction observed,* ver. 53, betwixt eating and drinking, betwixt flesh and blood, refers to the species of bread and wine in the eucharist, or else there would be no need of such distinction, since a perception by faith needs it not. And ver. 55, ‘My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed,’ signify the distinct manner of eating his flesh, and drinking his blood, which is utterly lost, if not in the sacramental forms of bread and wine.”

1. Meat and drink are the constituent parts of corporeal refreshments, and so do aptly set forth Christ as the object of our faith; for what meat and drink is to the body, that is he to the soul by faith; and therefore we are said to be “partakers of Christ,”† Heb. iii. 14.

2. By the terms, flesh and blood, is set forth,

(1.) The human nature which he assumed, usually in Scripture called flesh and blood, Matth. xvi. 27; and accordingly his incarnation is thus described, “He also took part of the same” flesh and blood, Heb. ii. 14.

(2.) There is further thereby set forth his sufferings, suitable to the sacrifices under the law, in which there was a separate consideration of these two. And though these are set forth in the eucharist, yet had there been no such institution, there would have been reason sufficient for the representing our Saviour under this notion, and for faith thus to respect him.

But methinks they of the Church of Rome should be shy of arguing from this distinction of flesh and blood, and the different manner of receiving them in the sacrament, that do by their doctrine of concomitancy make these two to be but one, and the flesh to be flesh and blood too, and also in the administration of it, deliver it but in one kind to the people. The irreconcilableness of which doctrine and practice to this discourse of our Saviour, made Cajetan and others utterly to deny it had any reference to the eucharist, as Bellarmine saith.‡

“It is said, ver. 49, Your Fathers did eat manna in the wilderness.§ This is the bread that cometh down from heaven, &c. Where the comparison is not between manna and the body of Christ, as taken only by faith, but as taken in the sacrament, as is evident from 1 Cor. x. 1, 2, 3, where the

* Arg. 4.

† Answer.

‡ SS. Porro Catholici.

§ Arg. 5.

waters of the Red Sea are compared to baptism, and manna to the eucharist."

Our Saviour doth not compare his body (which did not descend from heaven), but himself, to manna; ver. 33, "The bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven:" ver. 51, 52, "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven*—I am the living bread." He was spiritually to the soul, what manna was corporeally to the body; and so it is understood by the Apostle, 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. "They did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."

"The words (eating the flesh of Christ) cannot be taken figuratively,† but properly, because always the proper signification is to be chosen, unless the contrary be evidently proved. And when our Saviour so often repeats it with the oath Amen, amen, it would be absurd that it should be taken figuratively; for it is not lawful to confirm an assertion by an oath, unless the matter be clear and certain, so that it cannot be wrested to another sense; *ne detur occasio perjurii*, lest there be an occasion given of perjury. But flesh properly signifies flesh, and to eat signifies a corporeal action, by which meat is thrown into the stomach, but that is not by faith, and no where but in the eucharist."

1. We admit of this rule, that the proper signification is to be chosen,‡ when the contrary is not evident; being according to what is said by St. Austin. But then how shall we know whether the contrary be not evident? that we have the same Father guiding us in, whothus delivers himself:§ "If a saying be preceptive, either forbidding a wicked action, or commanding what is good, it is not figurative: if it commands any wickedness, or forbids what is good, it is figurative; as this saying 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you,' seems to command a heinous and wicked thing: and is therefore a figure enjoining us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and to lay it up in a profitable remembrance, because his flesh was wounded and crucified for our sakes."

2. As to what he alleges from the terms Amen, amen, or Verily, verily, it is not probable that it was a form of swearing, when (1.) Our Saviour uses it so frequently, as five and twenty

* Answer.

† Arg. 6.

‡ Answer.

§ De Doctrin. Christ. 1. 3. c. 16.

times in this Gospel; and that as well in matters of observation and fact, as doctrine and promise and declaration, as Matth. viii. 10, "Verily I have not found so great faith:" Matth. xviii. 13. So John x. 1, "Verily, verily, he that cometh not by the door," &c. and xiii. 16. (2.) Bellarmine uses it as an argument why these words should be understood literally, because confirmed by an oath, and then according to his reasoning, they are not an oath, because they are often applied to what is not to be understood literally. So John i. 51, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man." Chap. iii. 3, "Verily, verily, except a man be born again," &c. So in this chap. ver. 32. "Verily, verily, my Father gave you the true bread:" and so in the verse he makes use of, "Verily, verily, except ye eat," &c. Where, if he is right in his argument, the flesh is then proper flesh, and the eating must be carnal eating of that flesh; and which he cannot expound to an eating of flesh under the form of bread, without one of the hardest metaphors in the world. Surely he was hard put to it, when he must bring our blessed Saviour so near the precipice, as to an *occasio perjurii*; and that nothing less will serve than such a clear and determinate phrase, as is not possible to be wrested to another sense.

"As our Saviour, John iii. 3, when he would insinuate the use and nature of baptism, teaches Nicodemus, and repeats it, that he must be born again: so here, that he might insinuate the nature of the eucharist, he saith, and repeats it, Except ye eat the flesh, &c. And as Nicodemus then did wonder, so did the disciples here."*

1. Bellarmine contends elsewhere, that "words in sacraments are to be understood literally."† If so, then how can it be so, John iii. for if to be born again is literally to be understood, then Nicodemus was in the right, ver. 3, "Can a man enter the second time into his mother's womb, and be born?"

2. If these words are allusively to be understood, and signify a moral and spiritual birth (as is not denied), and that by them we are to interpret these, "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," then we can no more understand these of oral and corporeal eating, than those of a natural birth; but as by the terms being "born again," were signified a moral and spiritual birth, so by the terms "eating the flesh" of Christ,

* Arg. 7.

† Answer. C. 9. SS. primum igitur.

we are to understand a spiritual and figurative eating, which is by faith.

As for what Bellarmine urges from the absurdities that will follow,* if this discourse of our Saviour is not to be understood of the eucharist : “they only serve to prove that our Saviour referred here to the sacrament ;” but as they do not prove it, so if they did, yet that alone, as I have shewed, belongs not to the case in debate.

Bellarmino having thus largely insisted upon the first, he proceeds to shew the truth of Christ’s body in the eucharist from this discourse of our Saviour. And to what has been before said, he adds an argument from ver. 61, 62, “Doth this offend you ? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before ?”

Of this, he saith, there is a double exposition, and from each of which he endeavours to prove it.

“Our Saviour doth prove one wonder by another,† more or equally wonderful ; as Matth. ix. 2, John i. 51, iii. 8. And so he doth here in the instance of his ascension. But if our Saviour had not promised to give his true flesh in the sacrament, there had been no need to prove his power in the instance of his ascension.”

I answer ; admitting this exposition,‡ yet there is no foundation for his inference.

For the instance to prove, must be equally, if not more wonderful than what it is brought to prove ; but that is not here ; for the existence of Christ’s natural body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, is far more wonderful than Christ’s ascension into heaven. The bodily ascension into heaven carries in it no repugnancy to reason, and there have been instances of it in Enoch and Elijah ; but as to Christ’s body under the forms of bread and wine, it is what there is nothing that doth, or can parallel, as the Roman Catechism owns.

“Our Saviour reproves the incredulity of his disciples,§ and teacheth them, that they shall have a greater occasion of doubting in his absence. And if they now doubt, what will they do when he is gone into heaven, and his body will be far from them ; then how will they believe the same body to be in the eucharist ? Whereas, if it were by faith, it would be more easy to believe after his ascension, and our Lord would

* Arg. 8.

† Expos. 1.

‡ Answer.

§ Expos. 2.

would not have said, What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?"

1. I deny that if it was by faith,* it would be more easy to believe after the ascension ; and that for what our Saviour said to Thomas, John xx. 29, "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed ; blessed are they which have not seen, and yet have believed."

2. I deny again, that it is more difficult to believe Christ's body in the eucharist after his ascension than before ; for it is equally difficult to believe Christ's body to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, whether he be in heaven or earth, present or absent. It is again as equally difficult to believe Christ to have a human body united to his soul, and another body under the forms of bread and wine, and these to be one and the same body.

3. I deny again, that there is the least reason for this exposition of that phrase, that "they shall have a greater occasion of doubting in his absence ;" and that will appear, by considering what were the things those disciples murmured at ; and they were two : (1.) That he should speak of eating his flesh, ver. 53, &c. (2.) That he should say, "This is the bread which came down from heaven," &c. ver. 58. Now to both of these he returns a distinct answer ; beginning (according as it is usual in Scripture) with the last first. To which he answers, ver. 61, 62, "Doth this offend you? What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?" Why should it be less credible that I came from heaven, than that I shall ascend thither? But this shall shortly be seen ; or (to use the words of a late author of theirs) "as if he should have said,† If you do not yet believe that the Son of man came down from heaven, yet when you see him ascend thither again, you will be more ready to believe that it was really God who came down, took flesh and dwelt amongst you."

As to the second, he answers, ver. 63, "It is the spirit that quickeneth ; the flesh profiteth nothing : the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life." What he had taught them all along, of coming to him, and believing in him, as the way and means to eternal life ; so ver. 35, 40, 45, 47.

The third head of arguments,‡ to prove that the very body and blood of Christ are substantially in the eucharist, is taken from the words of institution, "This is my body."

* Answer.

† Transub. defended, p. 57.

‡ SS. III.

Here Bellarmine saith, from the Council of Trent,* that the Catholic Church doth teach, that these words are to be taken simply and properly, and then gives this sense of them thus : "This, which is contained under these species of bread and wine, is truly and properly my very true and natural body." In proof of this,

He undertakes to shew, that "it is not probable our Lord would speak figuratively,† whether we consider the matter, a sacrament, &c. the persons to whom he spake, the Apostles ; the place and time."‡

For the matter, he saith, it is "a sacrament, a will, a covenant, a law, a doctrine, all which do require a proper and not a figurative speech."

But though this holds precisely in none of his instances, yet in none doth it fail more than the first, and indeed the chiefest of them ; and that whether we consider the nature of a sacrament, or the instances of it. The nature of it is mystical and representative, and so mystical expressions do become, and bear a correspondence to the nature of the thing. And accordingly we shall find it to be the manner of speaking in such symbolical cases. Thus it was in the sacraments of the law, circumcision, and the passover. In the former of these, circumcision is called the covenant, Gen. xvii. 10, 13, which was but a token of the covenant, ver. 11, and Rom. iv. 11. In the latter, the lamb is called the Passover, which it was the sign and representation of. Thus they are said to kill, to sacrifice, to roast, to eat the passover, Exod. xii. 21. Deut. xvi. 2, 7. Matth. xxvi. 17. Thus it is also in the Christian sacrament of baptism, which is called, Tit. iii. 5, "the washing of regeneration ;" and we are said to be "born of water," John iii. 5 ; to be "buried with Christ by baptism," Rom. vi. 4.

Now, let us come to this very sacrament in dispute, and they themselves must, and do acknowledge several things to be figuratively spoken, when "this," in Bellarmine's way of exposition, is what is contained under the forms of bread and wine :§ "broken," that is, by the breaking the accidents of bread :|| "cup," that is, the wine in the cup : "bread," after consecration, that is, what was once bread. Now, if Bellarmine's argument be good, that "a sacrament requires a

* C. 8. SS. Cum his. Concil. Trid. Sess. 13. c. 1.

† Arg. 1. ‡ C. 9. § C. 2. SS. Sed-existit.

|| C. II. SS. Octavum Argumentum.

proper sense," all these were meant, and so ought to be understood, properly.

He argues* from the words themselves, "This is my body;" and he begins with the word "this," which, saith he, must relate either to the bread, or the body, or the accidents of bread. The two former he discards after this manner:

"The word *this* cannot relate to bread,† because if taken adjectively, it must be of the same gender with the substantive it belongs to; but now in the Greek, the word for *bread* (ἄρτος) is in the masculine, and the word for *this* (τοῦτο) is in the neuter."

But here he is out in his grammar.‡ Were the adjective immediately connected to the substantive, as it is ver. 26, ἄρτον τοῦτον, "this bread," or as a late adversary would read it for us,§ when he saith, we read it τοῦτο ἄρτος, then it would be, as he saith, false grammar; but though ἄρτος, bread, be the antecedent to τοῦτο, yet neither is our Saviour, or the Evangelist, out in their grammar, nor we in following them in it. That our Saviour refers "this" to "bread," not only the reason of the thing, and the order of grammar require (because it is the same that he saith "this" of, that he before "took, and blessed, and gave"), but also that the Apostle afterward, immediately connects them together, 1 Cor. xi. 26, "As often as ye eat this bread;" where the "this bread" as much refers to the bread, as the "this cup" to the cup before spoken of.

And that it is agreeable to the rules of grammar, I shall make appear by these observations.

1. As it is ordinary in Latin and Greek, when the substantive is understood, or the antecedent is a sentence going before, to put the relative (whatever gender the substantive is of) in the neuter gender, as John vi. 61, τοῦτο, "Doth this offend you?" that is, Christ's coming from heaven; so here ver. 24, 25, τοῦτο, "this doth;" that is, take and eat.

2. When the substantive properly belonging to the adjective is not immediately repeated with the adjective, the adjective may be in the neuter gender, as Gen. ii. 13, τοῦτο ὅστων, "this is bone," where the word γυνή "woman" is the antecedent.

3. It is common again in Greek and Latin, to put the relative in the same gender with the consequent, as in the

* Arg. 2.

‡ Answer.

† C. 10. SS. Porro.

§ Transub. defended, Introduct.

foregoing instance, τοῦτο ὅστω, which the vulgar Latin reads *hoc est os*. And so when the sentence going before was the antecedent, yet we find the relative is in the feminine, if the consequent substantive be so, as Ezek. v. 5, αὐτὴ ἡ Ἰερουσαλὴμ, "this is Jerusalem." So St. Cyprian, *hæc est caro mea*.*

Now it happens that there is none of these but what is applicable to our case. For, (1.) The antecedent may be the sentence going before, and the bread, and the breaking, giving, taking, eating, may be the body of Christ by signification; as the lamb, the taking, killing, dressing, and eating, is said to be the Lord's passover, Exod. xii. 11. And the hair, the weighing, burning, smiting, and scattering it, is said to be Jerusalem, Ezek. v. 5. (2.) The substantive is not repeated with, nor immediately connected to the adjective. (3.) And the noun consequent to τοῦτο, *this*, is σῶμα of the neuter gender; and consequently in all points, nothing more regular and grammatical.

He argues further, "The word *this* cannot refer to the word *body* (as many of their own authors hold), because the conversion of the substance of the bread into the substance of Christ's body is not accomplished till the words *this is my body*, are pronounced; and to say the word *this* (which implies somewhat present) refers to *body*, is to make that to be there which is not there; which is absurd," saith Bellarmine, and it would be to say, *This body is my body*,† which, saith another, is ridiculous.

Lastly, He contends, that by the word *this* is meant, "what is contained under the species of bread."‡ Here those that were of the last opinion, are even with him, and say, this account of the word *this*, is full of absurdities. For what is contained under the species or accidents of bread, must refer to the bread, or the body, or the species. Not to the bread, for that is to go over to the Protestants. Not to the body, for that (as we have heard) is to make that present which is not yet present. Not to the species; for till the bread be changed into the body, the species are in the substance of the bread, and one with it; and besides, Bellarmine himself saith, that the sense is not, that "these species are the body."§ But here we meet with a guide, who tells us that it is "this thing." Now it would be worth knowing what is the substantive|| to

* De Cœna Dom.

‡ SS. Est igitur.

|| Transub. defended, p. 26.

† Transub. defended, p. 27.

§ Ibid. SS. Thomas.

the word *τοῦτο* in Greek ; for if it be *οὐσία*, surely *τοῦτο οὐσία* is as false grammar as *τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος*. Again, it would be worth knowing what “this thing” is, that is neither bread, nor body, nor accidents. Here again we have our guide at hand to direct us: “*This*,” saith he, “is a pronoun demonstrative,* that doth not express any particular, determinate, and distinct nature, or substance ; only discovers some real thing, which appears in such a manner ; as for instance, the species of bread to the senses, which our Saviour declares fully to them to be his body.”

But to this it may be replied :

1. That the word *this* stands not here by itself,† but is in a proposition, “This is my body,” and so must be taken in a determinate sense, for some particular known substance, whatever it is. It being a ridiculous thing to demonstrate that by the demonstrative *this*, which is not demonstrated by it. To this purpose argues the Jesuit Maldonat.‡

2. I would fain know of this author, if the word *this* expresses nothing of a determinate nature, how the predicate *body* is of the same nature with the subject *this*, as he saith it is, if understood in the sense of his Catholics.§

Next, Bellarmine argues from the word *is*, which he saith, “in this place signifies *is*, for that is the most simple and common signification, insomuch as all other words are resolved into this, and this is to be resolved into none.”||

1. But Bellarmine himself soon recalls this, granting, that where signs are concerned, the word “*is* is to be explained¶ by *signifies*.”

2. I add from another hand, that as often as the verb *is* joins things of diverse natures together,** we must necessarily have recourse to a figure and a trope according to that rule in logic, *disparatum de disparato non proprie prædicatur*.

3. Bread and the body of Christ are things of different natures ; and therefore, if in the proposition, “This is my body,” *body* is meant of the proper body of Christ, and the word *this* refers to proper bread (as I have shewed it does), then the word *is* must be interpreted by the word *signifies*, or *represents*. And this is not only true in common forms of speech, as *this* is Cæsar, *this* is my will, my hand, my seal ; where it is not Cæsar, but his picture : not the will, but the

* Ibid. p. 27.

† Answer.

‡ De Euchar. tom. 1. p. 216.

§ P. 34.

|| Answer.

¶ SS. Dices in Explicatione.

** Salmeron. tom. 9. Tract. 20 p. 138.

legacy ; not the hand, but the writing ; not the seal, but the impression : but it is also usual in Scripture, as “The seed is the word,” Luke viii. 11. “I am the door,” John x. 7. “This is the blood of the men,” 2 Sam. xxiii. 17. And in the instances before given, “This is the Lord’s passover ;” “This is Jerusalem.” Of this see before, p. 189.

The last head of arguments to prove the truth of Christ’s proper body to be truly in the eucharist,* is taken from the use of it. Here Bellarmine argues from the consecration,† the fraction, the communication, and the guilt by unworthy participation.

He argues‡ from 1 Cor. x. 16, “The cup of blessing, which (saith he) signifies consecration to be necessary ; but there is no need of consecration, if it be a figure, for then a declaration of his will would be sufficient.”

1. Their blessing is not their consecration.§ For consecration with them is the use of the words of conversion (so called by them), “This is my body.” But our Saviour blessed, and brake, and gave, before he said, “Take eat ; this is my body.” And if blessing be consecrating, then consecrating would be when it was but a figure.

2. It is a figure, if there be no substantial change ; but consecration may be where there is no substantial change ; and consequently may be where there is a figure. For else baptism must not be baptism, nor chrism in their confirmation be chrism, after consecration, where they own is no substantial change.

Fraction, he saith, “is immolation.”||

But of that see before,¶ p. 177.

He saith, “The bread broken, being the communication of the body of Christ, implies it, and which is further confirmed by the comparison betwixt the eucharist and heathenish sacrifices.”**

Of this see before, p. 214.††

It is said, 1 Cor. xi. 27, “Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, which implies the presence of his proper body and blood.”‡‡

1. The force of this argument lies in this, that no contempt can be offered to Christ, but where he is personally and bodily

* SS. IV.

† Cap. 12 et 13.

‡ Arg. 1.

§ Answer.

|| Arg. 2.

¶ Answer.

** Arg. 3.

†† Answer.

‡‡ Arg. 4.

present, but that is apparently otherwise;* for the despising the Gospel, and the messengers of it, is said to be a despising of Christ, Luke x. 16.

2. Upon the same reason as there may be contempt offered to Christ by contempt of his Gospel and messengers, though he be bodily absent; on the same reason may he that contemns the sacrament of Christ's body and blood (when his sufferings are set forth and commemorated), be said to be guilty of his body and blood; for what relation the Gospel and messengers have to Christ, that relation, and more, has the sacrament of his body and blood to his body and blood. So Christ is said to be crucified among the Galatians, as his sufferings were evidently set forth by the preaching of the Apostle, Gal. iii. 1. And apostates are said to "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh," Heb. vi. 6. So St Jerome saith of this place, "He is guilty of the body and blood of Christ, who despises the sacrament of this so great a mystery as a vile thing."† Thus, indeed, St. Paul doth distinguish the sacrament of it from the thing; for he saith not, He that eateth the body of Christ, and drinketh his blood unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ; but "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." The one being the consequence of the other; he that is guilty of the former, is in reason to be esteemed guilty of the other, from the near relation the one has to the other.

PART II.

It is contended that Transubstantiation is to be proved from Scripture.

After so large a discourse upon the first head, about the truth of Christ's natural body and blood in the eucharist, it might reasonably be expected that there should be some considerable care taken to prove the conversion of the bread and wine into the proper substance of Christ's body and blood.‡ But this has a very short chapter bestowed upon it, where Bellarmine tells us, that his first place is Matth. xxvi, "This is my body." He might have better called it his only place, for there is no second that follows his first. And even here,§ when he comes

* Answer.

† In 1 Cor. 11.

‡ L. 3. c 19.

§ SS. Respondeo absolute.

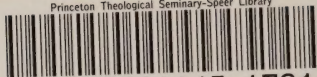
to his utmost proof, that "it may (as he saith) be absolutely collected from it," it amounts to this, "that from the common manner of speaking, what is signified in the words *this is my body* is, that there is nothing else but the body of Christ. For if it had been bread, our Lord ought to say, Here, that is, in this bread is my body." So that it seems as our Saviour must do what they would have him do, so he must speak what they would have him speak; "he ought," saith he, "to say." But why then ought not our Lord to have said, This is turned into my body? That indeed, some of them say, is to be understood, and so is supposed by them. And indeed, without proving *is* doth so signify, it is impossible to prove the bread to be turned into the proper body of Christ by virtue of these words, "This is my body." In fine, this knowing man was so sensible of the shortness of his argument, that he thus concludes the whole: "Let me add," saith he, "that though there should be some obscurity and ambiguity in our Lord's words,* yet that is taken away by many Councils of the Catholic Church (such as those of Lateran and Trent), and the consent of the Fathers." So that though they do make some offer at Scripture, and at some times boast (as one doth) of "clear words, even word for word;"† yet that they soon forsake; and, as Bellarmine shelters himself against the obscurity and ambiguity of the text, by a pretence of Councils, and the consent of the Fathers: so this last author, after he has just named the clear words (as he calls them) soon quits that for a proof by demonstration. It looks somewhat great to begin with Scripture, and to pass thence to Councils, Fathers, and demonstrations. But when it comes to be inquired into, Scripture is one text alone, and that text obscure and ambiguous; the Councils are these of Lateran and Trent; and the Fathers, the Fathers of those and the like Councils; and their demonstration, fiction and imagination. But this belongs not to the present design to shew.

* SS. Adde quod.

† Cath. Scripturist, Point 12. p. 90.

END OF VOL. IX.

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